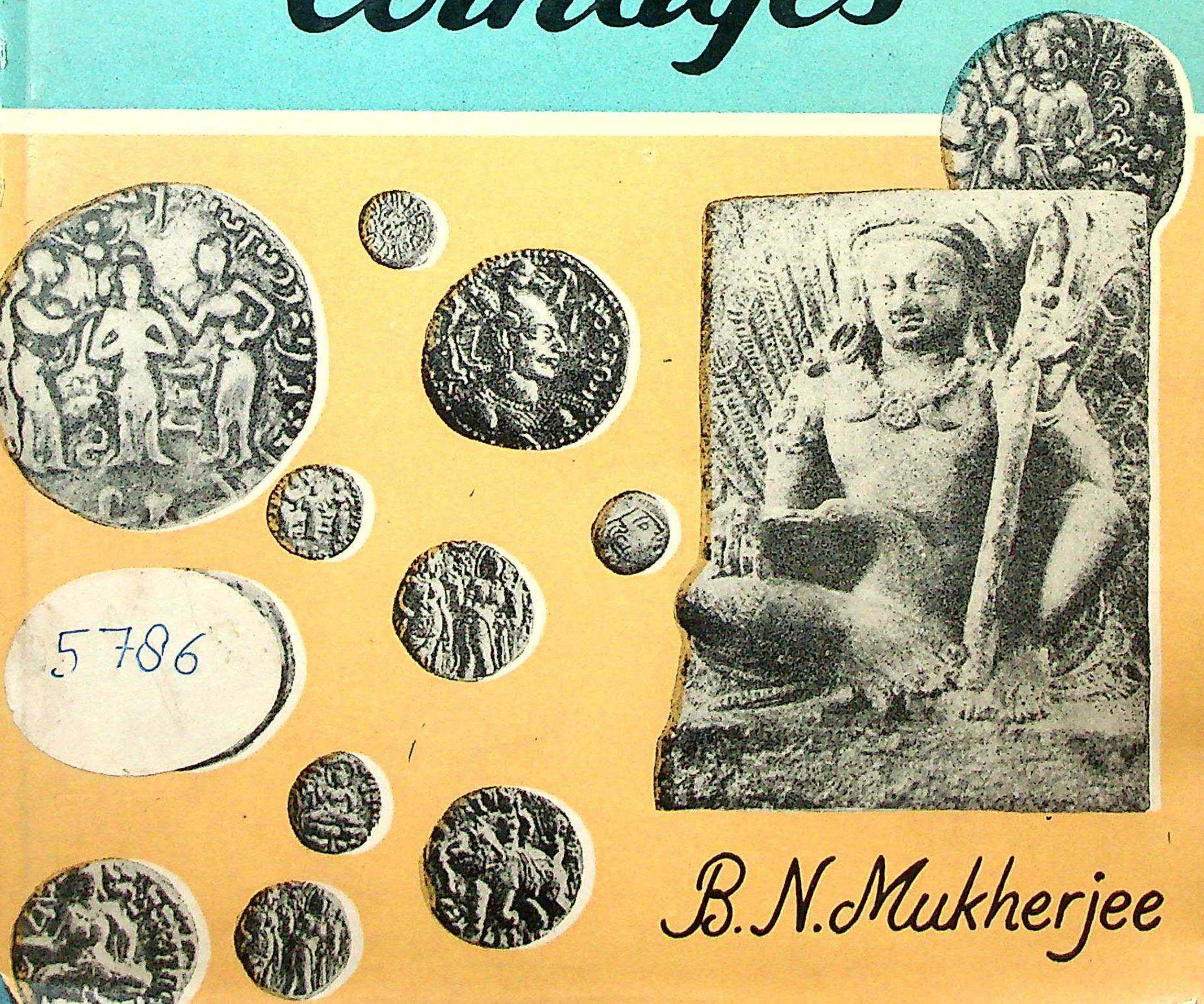
Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages



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2nd Prof. V. S. Agrawala Memorial Lectures
1982–83

Delivered

by

B. N. Mukherjee

at the

State Museum, Lucknow

on

March 10, 11 and 12, 1983

Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages
of
Northern India

By.

Prof. B. N. Mukherjee

M. A. (Cal.), Ph. D. (Lond.), F. S. A. (Lond.), F. R. A. S.
Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
University of Calcutta

Lucknow
1985

Published by

State Museum, Lucknow

Price Rs 70.00

Printed at

Pnar Mudrak
117 Nazirabad, Lucknow

क्रमांक 5786
प्राप्ति तिथि ——
State Museum, Library, Lko.

Publisher's Note

Dr. V. S. AGRAWALA MEMORIAL LECTURES

The annual lecture series in the memory of late Prof. V. S. Agrawala, an eminent Indologist, who was also Curator of Mathurā, Lucknow and Delhi museums, was instituted by the Department of Cultural Affairs, Government of Uttar Pradesh at the State Museum, Lucknow in 1981.

Born on Augut 7, 1904 at Khera in Meerut District, Dr. V. S. Agrawala was educated at Varanasi and Lucknow. Dr. Agrawal joined the Mathurā Museum as Curator and remained there between 1931 and 1939, effecting several important changes in display and also enriching the Museum collection to a great extent. Subsequently, he came to Lucknow as officer-in-charge of Lucknow Museum and re-organised its galleries. He was also one of the founder members of the Museums Association of India.

From 1946 to 1951 Dr. Agrawala joined the Archaeological Survey of India as Keeper of the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi. During this tenure he laboured hard for the emergence of the National Museum in India.

At the invitation of late Sri Govind Malviya, the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Agrawala joined the Banaras Hindu University as Professor of Art and Architecture and graced this chair till he breathed his last on July 22, 1966.

Dr. Agrawala was elected President of Numismatic Society of India, Nagpur Session, President of Museums Association of India, Patna Session, President of Art and Technical Section of the All-India Oriental Congress, Bombay Session, President of Ancient Indian-History Section of All-India History Congress, Cuttack Session and General President of the 22nd All-India Oriental Conference of Gauhati in 1965.

Dr. Agrawala had a deep insight in Ancient Indian History, Culture, Archaeology, Sanskrit, Hindi, Art and Folk-lores. He initiated a movement known as '*Zanapada*

Āndolana' for promotion and augmentation of folk-art traditions. He also acted as editor of the Bulletin named 'Janapada'.

Prof. Agrawala was General Editor and President of the India Prākrit Text Society and General Editor of the Nepal Endowment Hindu University Sanskrit Publication. As a doyen of Indian Art and Culture he penned about fifty books and several hundred research papers of great significance. Besides, his magnum-opus '*India as known to Pāṇini*' his other laudable works are—Cultural Study of Harshaçarita, Cultural Study of Kādambarī, Sanjīvanī commentary on *Padmāvata* of Jāyasī, Prāchina Bhāratiya Loka Dharma, Mātā Bhūmi, Kalā Aura Sanskriti, Prithvīputra, Bhārata Sāvitrī, Kalpa Vṛiksha, Commentary of Vāmana and Matsya Purāṇas etc. His books captioned Indian Art, Studies in Indian Art, and Gupta Art are of immense importance for the students and researchers of Indian art, architecture and iconography. His Mathurā Museum Catalogues published in several issues of the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society* from 1948 to 1953 present a scientific and academic approach to the subject. He wrote several monographs on different topics on art and iconography.

Dr. Agrawala was a great Vedic Scholar, and he was not only the founder Director of Ṛgvedic Akademy but was also the author of several valuable works, viz. *Sparks from the Vedic Fire*, *Veda Rashmi*, *Veda Vidyā*, *Uru Jyoti*, *Gitānavanīta*, *Śiva Mahādeva* etc. These speak of his wonderful grasp and great depth in Indian philosophy and spiritualism. The interpretations of Vedic terminology are marvellous.

Prof. Agrawala was a great patriot and he plunged into the Freedom Fight at a very young age. Clad always in rather rough texture Khādī, he wore a frail physique and unassuming personality. But an extraordinarily laborious, hard task master, teetotaler, staunch vegetarian and self disciplined, Dr. Agrawala was the custodian and inspiring soul of high morals and ideals. Often absorbed in thoughts, vision and spiritual ecstasy he belonged to the tradition of Indian sages and seers.

The U. P. Cultural Affairs Department and the State Museum, Lucknow feel much proud in instituting the annual lecture series to cherish the memory of late Dr. V. S. Agrawala who was a ceaseless fountain of knowledge of Indian art and culture.

The Lecture Series

The following lecture series have so far been held :

1.	Mughal Style of Paintings March, 1981.	Dr. Anand Krishna, Professor, Art and Architecture, B. H. U., Varanasi.

2.	Art in the Coinage of the Gupta Period.	Dr. B.N. Mukherjee, Carmichael Professor, University of Calcutta.
3.	(a) Dr. Agrawala, Seer and Scholar (b) Gītagovinda Feb. 1984	Dr. (Smt.) Kapila Vatsyayana, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Education, Deptt. of Culture, Govt. of India.
4.	Contribution of the Sultans of Kashmir to the development of Sanskrit.	Dr. (Smt.) Ved Kumari Ghai, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Jammu.

Owing to the non-availability of script of first and third lecture series it has not been possible to publish them. The three brilliant lectures delivered by Prof. Mukherjee on the Art in the Coinage of the Gupta Period are being presented here before the learned readers. Prof. Mukherjee is an outstanding authority on different branches of Indology and he was gracious enough to accept the invitation of the State Museum, Lucknow to deliver the lectures and to send the press copy-final in every respect. The Museum takes the credit to publish this monograph which I believe will be received well by the scholars.

R. C. Sharma
Director
State Museum, Lucknow

Buddha Jayanti,
May 4, 1985.

PREFACE

In 1982 Mr. (now Dr.) R. C. Sharma, the Director of the State Museum, Lucknow, kindly invited me to deliver the V. S. Agrawala Memorial lectures for the year 1982-83. I gratefully accepted the invitation since it gave me an opportunity for paying homage to the great art historian and Indologist in whose memory the lectureship had been instituted.

I delivered a course of three lectures on the Art of the Gupta and Post-Gupta coinages of Northern India on March, 10, 11 and 12, 1983 at the State Museum, Lucknow. The lectures are now being published in the form of a monograph.

Data utilised in the lectures and now in this volume have been collected from *inter alia* the Indian Museum (Calcutta), the British Museum (London) and the State Museum (Lucknow). I am beholden to the authorities concerned for providing me with all facilities conducive to my research.

The photographs of the majority of the coins reproduced in the present monograph are made larger than their actual size in order to allow the readers to have a clear view of the devices on small pieces of metal. In each case of enlargement, its magnification in relation to the size of the coin concerned is indicated in the List of Illustration by such abbreviations like "ses" (meaning "slightly enlarged in size), "es" (meaning "enlarged in size"), "res" (meaning "remarkably enlarged in size"), "ves" (meaning "very much enlarged in size") and "ees" (meaning "extraordinarily enlarged in size"). The abbreviations signify respectively "slight", "one and half to two times", "two and half to about three times", three times or little more than three times" and "more than six times" enlargement.

The manuscript of the present treatise has been carefully typed by Mr. S. De. The photographs of coins reproduced on the plates have been prepared by Mr. Rajjan Khan and Mr. P. Ghosh. The plates have been arranged by Mr. N. Ray. The printers have done their job creditably. I offer my sincere thanks to all of them, I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. R. C. Sharma for arranging for publication of this monograph. But for his scholarly interest in the subject concerned and in the early publication of the monograph it would have been impossible for me to prepare the press copy well before the end of 1984.

October, 1984
Calcutta.

B. N. Mukherjee

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I

TECHNIQUE AND STYLE

Ancient coins available to modern numismatists are living testimonies to the dead past. They indeed constitute a major source of our knowledge about the early history of India—cultural as well as political and economic.

Our aim is to evaluate certain groups of such specie as data for writing a history of fine arts. Coins of one of these groups were struck by the Gupta empire in an age (roughly from about the first quarter of the 4th century to the middle or third quarter of the 6th century A. D.), which is considered as one of the most creative periods of Indian history.[1] The other groups are datable to the period which can be broadly termed as Post-Gupta and are assignable to the areas now included in the northern section of the Indian subcontinent, wherein once lay most of the provinces of the Gupta empire. Politically the period reached its climax with the establishment of the power of Islam over the greater part of Northern India by about the first decade of the 13th century A. D. In the field of art and architecture, the period and the areas concerned witnessed (as in contemporary peninsular India) interesting regional developments. From the point of view of numismatic history, pictorial devices, which could have allowed the designers and/or die-cutters to demonstrate their artistic skill, began to appear in increasingly lesser number with the majority of the mints coming under the control of the followers of aniconic Islam. Thus in the history of art in Indian coinage the end of the post-Gupta period in North India may be accepted as a convenient termination of one of its phases.

B

We intend to judge the artistry of the Gupta and post-Gupta coinages of Northern India. Such an evaluation should, however, be preceded by assertion of the potentiality of coins as objects of art.

A coin is a piece of metal of prescribed weight, embellished with designs and/or legends and produced under the direction of an authority (private or public) for its use as a medium of exchange. A design or designs, conceived of by an artist or artists, can be transferred to the surface of the metal (i) by punching its one side or two sides with the relevant design (engraved in negative on a die) or designs (apparently typologically unrelated to one another and engraved in negative on an equal number of dies),[2] or (ii) by stamping one or both faces of the blank with the help of a die or two dies engraved with the design or designs (in negative),[3] or (iii) by casting a regulated quantity of molten metal in a mould or moulds bearing the design or designs[4] (in negative) or (iv) by following the repoussé technique.[5]

The transformation of the piece of metal called coin into an object of art is facilitated by the artistry of its obverse and reverse devices, excellence of the relevant die (s) or mould(s), purity and/or suitability of the required metal and efficiency in the technique of minting. Highly sophisticated and largely mechanised process of manufacturing followed in a modern organised mint can maintain a uniform standard in production on a mass scale, the like of which could not have been witnessed in a manually operated mint of early or mediaeval age. Moreover, ill-organised unofficial and sometimes also official mints were often not interested in turning out coins of artistic quality. Thus a vast number of pieces of coined metal of early and mediaeval periods do not interest students of the history of fine arts. However, the number of quality products of these ages is not negligible. Many of such coins, produced in well organised mints (under the supervision of appreciating as well as exacting authorities) and from dies prepared by highly skilled and talented artists, can be classed as masterpieces of visual art. These indicate traits of numismatic art and its relationship with other media of plastic art.[6]

The potentiality of coins as a source of art history is thus beyond doubt. In fact, numerous coin-devices have already been utilised for studying style of presentation and also developments in iconography and symbolism.[7]

C

Traces of double striking on blurred faces of some Gupta gold pieces (pl. I, no. 2) and the appearance of two distinct devices in low relief on two sides of (a large number of) Gupta coins[8] indicate that they were struck from two intagliated dies used simultaneously. One of the dies, engraved with a device and generally also a legend, was probably fixed on or embeded in an anvil. The other die, with similar features, was attached to a punch. After placing the die-end of the punch on the cold, or annealed, or incandescent blank, already set on the anvil-die, the other end of the punch was struck with a hammer. As a result both sides of the blank received the required impressions and it was thereby transformed into a coin. A recent experiment in Greek minting technique reveals that two blows were sufficient to give full impression of both the dies on the flan.[9]

The fact that devices and/or legend on some Gupta coins are not fully found on the flan may indicate use of dies larger than the flan. However, in a number of cases the samé feature may indicate the absence of a regular use of any mechanical instrument for controlling dies (like a hinge connecting the two dies) at the time of minting.

An examination of a large number of Gupta gold and silver coins reveals that only some of them are exactly circular in shape, though the strikers apparently wanted all of them to be so. It appears that the very method of production followed by the Gupta mint-masters made it impossible for the true circle to be obtained, since there was nothing to stop the flan from spreading under the blow.

Inspite of these apparent defects, the Gupta mint-masters could have produced quality coins so long they used metal of fairly high purity. It is well-known that the Gupta gold coins (known as *dīnāra*) were struck initially under the influence of the gold coinage of the Imperial Kushāṇas (and of their successors in the Punjab area of the Indian subcontinent).[10] These were struck on a weight standard of about 120-121 grains.[11] "There are indications that the weight of gold coinage was gradually increased until it reached the traditional weight of Indian gold coin (*suvarṇa*) of 80 ratis or about 144 grains.[12] This heavy weight standard was introduced in the reign of Skandagupta". The silver coins of the Guptas (known as *rūpaka*) followed the weight-standard of Kshatrapa silver currency of about 30-33 grains.[13] It is, however, difficult to detect "convincingly any denomination scheme in the recorded weights of the Gupta copper coins".[14] Our knowledge of the weight-standard of the lead coins of the Guptas is still negligible,[15] though it may be suggested that the Guptas followed the weight-standard of the so-called Kshatrapa lead coins.[16] Similar uncertainty may prevail, if we accept that at least one of the Guptas had brass coinage, the historicity of which has been suggested on the basis of one single piece (king as an archer : seated goddess) attributed to Chandragupta II.[17]

Of all these metals, we have some information about the percentage of pure gold and silver in the Gupta gold and silver coins respectively.[18] Examinations of a number of Gupta gold coins now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the British Museum, London, reveal that a high standard of purity of metal was generally maintained in gold coins struck up to the reign of Kumāragupta I.[19] A fairly high standard of purity of metal can be detected in gold pieces struck up to a period of the reign of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya.[20]

Apart from using good quality metal for preparing blanks, skilled artists had to be employed for engraving dies. The negative impressions of obverse and reverse types could have been engraved, perhaps following an original design, on two separate objects of soft steel or bronze prepared by cutting in slices a bar of steel or bronze cast in mould and then annealed. The engraving might have been done by a sculptor with the help of such instruments as a graver's wheel, drills of different shapes and sizes, a burin and a hammer and perhaps also compasses.

Then the standard of production of a coin depended not only on the metal used for preparing its blank and the method followed in striking the blanks, but also, to a large extent, on the skill of person or persons responsible for engraving or etching the relevants type on the dies. As an artist or artists, he or they could not have been unaware of the activities of his or their compatriots engaged in enriching other branches of art.

In fact, available data suggest that in antiquity good sculptors were often employed as die-cutters, who at least sometimes copied the stylistic traits and iconic features of well known cult images.[21] There are also clear indications of relationship between early Indian sculptural art and coins.[22]

D

These considerations tempt us to discern the artistic quality of the coinage of the Gupta age, famous for its achievements in various fields of human activities. We shall also search for the legacy of Gupta numismatic art and also independent artistic traits in the coinages of the Post-Gupta age, the best products of which were apparently minted, like the Gupta pieces, following the die-striking process. Even if coin-moulds were known, these were perhaps not used in well organised mints capable of turning out quality coins.[23]

As noted above, the Imperial Guptas produced at least gold (*dīnāra* and *suvarṇa*), silver (*rūpaka*), copper and lead coins. Sixteen such silver pieces were equal in value to a gold dīnāra at least in the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti area in the days of Kumāragupta I.[24] The coins were supplemented by cowries in commercial transactions at least in parts of the Gupta empire. Fa-hsien, who visited Madhyadeśa (in the Gupta empire) probably during the reign of Chandragupta II, noticed use of cowries in buying and selling of commodities.[25]

The character of Post-Gupta coinages was much more complex and varied from the point of view of weight-standard, metal-content and denomination, and also the nature of the issuer.[26] Still these pieces, as living testimonies to the dead past, are worth probing by art historians.

NOTES

1. See Chapter II, n. 1.
2. Coins produced according to this technique are known to modern scholars as Punch-marked coins. Different procedures, ranging from primitive to fairly sophisticated, appear to have been adopted to mint these coins in different periods and/or areas. For details about the probable methods followed for minting these pieces, see S. K. Chakraborty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 113f and *JNSI*, 1976, vol. XXXVIII, p. II, pp. 4-6. The so-called "Droplet" or rather "Dropped blank" coins probably represent the earliest stage of production of Punch-marked coins (*JNSI*, 1976, vol. XXXVIII, p. 4).
3. For a discussion on the technique of producing die-struck coins, see C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 2nd edition, pp. 21-22 ; *NL*, pp. 36f.
4. For a discussion on the different methods—simple and also complex—followed for minting cast coins, see B. Sahni, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient Iudia*, pp. 18f.
5. A repoussé coin was produced by putting a thin blank on a design engraved in positive on a hard object and then by hammering the latter from behind to get on the blank an impression of the design in relief.
6. *PSAC*, p. 38. In this connection see also G. Macdonald, *Coin Types, Their Origin and Development*, pp. 1f ; *The Evolution of Coinage*, pp. 1f ; C. H. V. Sutherland, *Art in Coinage*, pp. 19f.
7. *DHI*, pp. 108f ; *NL*, pp. f ; *KCLFR*, pp. 16f and 70f ; etc.
8. *CGGCBH*, pl. II, no. 8 ; pl. IV, nos. 2 and 8 ; pl. IX, no. 13 ; etc.
9. *NC*, 1963, p. 226.
10. *CGE*, pp. 295f ; *KCLFR*, pll. VI-VII.
11. *Ibid.*,
12. *CGE*, p. 300.
13. *CGE*, pp. 300-301.
14. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, pp. 1370-1371.
15. *Numismatic Digest*, 1981, vol. V, pt. I, pp. 19f.
16. *Ibid.*, *CCADWK*, pp. CXLV and 187.

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17. *The Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, 1957, ns. Vol. V, pt. II, p. 100; pl. IV, no. A. An Archer type coin, referring to Śrī-(Vi) kramāditya, seems to be made of brass with a plating of gold. It is now in the State Museum, Lucknow. Its accession no. is 11392. Its measurement is .8'' and weight 73 grains. The piece was obviously meant for passing as a gold coin, and it might well have been a forgery. Can such remarks be applied to the so-called brass coinage of the Guptas ? (see also Chapter II, section A and n. 41).

18. See below n. 19.

19. *JNSI*, 1958, vol. XX, pt. II, pp. 184f; S. K. Maity, *The Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period, (c. A. D. 300-550)*, pp. 205. Recently all the gold and silver coins of the Guptas in the Indian Museum have been examined for determining their contents.

20. *CGE*, p. 241. While Narasiṁhagupta's coins of good fabric generally have more than 70% of their metal as pure gold, his coins of rude fabric generally do not have more than little over 50% of their metal as pure gold. The percentage of gold in the contents of his successors' coins is also poor.

21. G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, pp. 24 and 119; figs. 148 and 152; F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art* (edited by Al. N. Oikonomides), pll. 2 and 3.

22. *DHI*, pp. 8-10; *JNSI*, 1981, vol. XLIII, pp. 2f; *NL*, pp. 9f, *KCLFR*, pp. 16f and 70f.

23. Gupta coin moulds, found so far, may be considered to have been used for producing unofficially pieces of metal carrying Gupta coin devices. This hypothesis is supported by the discovery of clay moulds bearing the coin devices of Narasimhagupta I in the ruins of the Nalanda monastery, where an official mint of the Guptas could hardly have been located (*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1935-36, p. 52; pl. XVII, no. d).

24. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Vol. I—From the Sixth Century B. C. to the Sixth Century A. D.*, 2nd edition, p. 357 and f. n. 1.

25. Fa-hsien, *Fo-Kuo chi*, ch. XVI.

26. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, pp. 1413-1414; B. N. Mukherjee, "Media of Exchange in Trade of Mid-Eastern India (c. A. D. 750-1200)", *JNSI*, 1983, vol. XLV, pp. 159-165.

II

ART IN THE COINAGE OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

The Gupta Age is considered to have been one of the most creative phases of Indian history.[1] The period is named after the family of Gupta, which began to rule somewhere in eastern India in about the second half or fourth quarter of the 3rd century A. D. It rose to prominence by about the beginning of the reckoning of the Gupta Era (in c. A. D. 319 or 320),[2] gradually built a large empire comprising parts of eastern, northern, central and western India, and continued to rule with fluctuations of fortune to about the middle of the 6th century A. D. and in a small area even up to c. A. D. 569–70.[3] During the heyday of the empire the emperors were really powerful, militarily and financially.[4]

Available data suggest that the rich Imperial Guptas patronised art and culture.[5] Poet Harishena served under Samudragupta, who himself was described as "king of poets" and as a great intellectual and a musician in the Allahabad stone pillar inscription.[6] This record, composed by Harishena, was referred to by himself as a *Kāvya*,[7] probably a *biruda kāvya*.[8] Vīrasena, Chandragupta II's officer in charge of office of war and peace, was a poet and also conversant with Grammar, Polity, Logic and Popular Usage and Custom.[9] Vatsabhaṭṭi's *pūrvā* or detailed description of the Sun temple at Daśapura, erected during the reign of Kumāragupta I,[10] may be termed as a *kāvya*.[11] It also betray influence of the *Meghadūta* and *Ṛitusaṁhāra* of Kālidāsa,[12] who himself is generally dated to the Gupta age.[13] The excellent account of the restoration of the Sudarśana Lake by an official of Skandagupta in the Junagadh record of the years 136, 137 and 138 is described by itself as a "literary production" *grantha*.[14] The Gupta emperors' love for music is suggested by the Lyrist type coins of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta[15] (pl. II, no. 6; pl. VI, no. 13).

Though themselves Vaishṇavas, the Gupta monarchs were tolerant of other religious faiths.[16] This is testified to by the discoveries of ruins of religious edifices and icons belonging to various pantheons.[17] They also indicate great activities in the field of art and architecture.[18] There must have been a class of people who were wealthy enough to finance such activities and thereby patronise religion and art, the handmaid of religion. Epigraphic and other data do suggest the prosperity of a section of people including perhaps the rich industrialists and traders as well as the ruling class.[19] Evidence of proficiency in science and technology[20] indicates availability of dependable technological base for industry and trade.

Thus at least a section of the society of the Gnpta empire, including the monarchs, were mentally and materially capable and willing to patronise devotees to literature and art. This attitude would naturally have inspired well-patronised talented people to develop the concept of beauty, the essence of artistic literature and sculptural art. Some literary treatises and numerous sculptures datable to the Gupta period allude to a sense of idealised beauty[21] in human form, largely composed of parts conceived of in terms of similitudes drawn from various elements of nature and animal world.[22] The beautiful human form (representing a human being or divine being), became the focus of attraction in sculptural art, whose plastic quality and elegance were "logical outcome" of earlier art activities at Mathurā and Amarāvatī.[23]

The talented artists of the Gupta empire had the rich sculptural heritage, financial support and *inter alia* religious themes for producing objects of art. One of the likely places of their work might have the royal mint, since the Gupta emperors would have been, as patrons of art, inclined to employ some of the best available sculptors as die-cutters. In the heyday of their rule they could have been in a position to maintain a standard in the use of metal for coins and to cause the employment of latest known technique for minting coins (mainly through the die-striking process) (see Chapter I).[24]

The situation was ripe for produeing coins which could be termed as works of art. Demand for medium of exchange for facilitating at least relatively bigger transactions[25] and knowledge of variegated coinage of the preceding empire of the Kushāṇas[26] should have, together with other factors, inspired the Guptas to issue numerous types of coins in various metals,

At the zenith of their power, the Imperial Guptas did indeed mint coins rich in variety and metal. Their coin-types have been named by scholars generally after distinguishing devices (or inscriptions) borne by them. The Guptas used gold, silver, copper and lead (and also brass ?) for striking coins.

Chandragupta I minted gold coins displaying the king and queen on the obverse and a goddess on lion on the reverse[27] (pl. II, no. 3). Though some scholars have claimed that Chandragupta I also struck silver coins using the same devices, none of such silver pieces has been proved to be a genuine product of a Gupta mint.[28]

Samudragupta issued gold coins in six different types (Standard, Archer, Battle-axe, Tiger-slayer, Lyrist and Aśvamedha types)[29] (pl. I, no. 3 : pl. II, nos. 4-7 ; pl. III, no 2 ; pl. IV, no. 1). R. D. Banerji referred to two copper coins of this emperor with Garuḍa in the upper half and his name in the lower half on the obverse and with no device on the reverse.[30] However, since photographs of these pieces have not been pub lished, no judgment can be pronounced on this issue.[31]

Kācha, whose identity as a king and relationship with the Guptas have not yet been established, minted gold specie, closely following the Standard-type of Samudragupta.[32] Similarly we are not sure about the identification of Rāmagupta of some varieties of copper coins from Malwa[33] (or of three inscriptions from the Vidisa district area of Malwa)[34] with Rāmagupta, who, according to literary tradition, was an elder brother of Chandragupta (II).[35] Rāmagupta of the literary tradition was deposed by his younger brother after an inglorious reign.[36]

Chandragupta II struck eight types of gold specie (Standard, Archer, Lion-slayer, Couch, King-and-the-Queen-on-the-Couch, Horseman, Chhattra and Chakravikrama types)[37] (pl. I, nos. 5-6 ; pl. II, nos. 10-12 ; pl. III, nos. 3-6). His silver coins (bust : Garuḍa) (pl. II, no. 13) are mainly based on the silver specie of the Western Kshatrapas, whose territory he conquered.[38] Probably after this conquest he also minted lead coins. These display Garuḍa with outstretched wings on one side and the legend *śrī-Vikrama* (*ḥ*) on the other[39] (pl. X, no. 6).

As many as nine types of copper pieces are known so far to have been minted by Chandragupta II. These are the Bust (bust : Garuḍa) (pl. II, no. 14), Chhattra (standing king being attended to by a dwarf holding an umbrella : Garuḍa), Archer (standing king holding bow and arrow : seated Lakshmī), Vase (crescent : vase), Standing king (standing king : Garuḍa), Chakra (wheel : Garuḍa), Crowned Head (crowned head : Garuḍa), Lakshmī (crowned head : Lakshmī) and Crescent types (crescent : Garuḍa).[40]

A coin of the Archer type (standing king holding bow and arrow : seated Lakshmī), bearing on the obverse traces of marginal legend and the name *Chandra* and on the reverse the legend and (*śri*)–*V* (*i*) *kra* (*maḥ*), is considered to be made of brass (an alloy of copper and zinc).[41] If this piece, weighing 62.75 grains (or 4.0660 gms.), is truely a brass coin and a genuine product of a Gupta mint (about neither of which we are certain), then Chandragupta II should be considered to have minted coins in brass in addition to gold, silver, lead and copper.

The coinage of Kumāragupta I was more varied in types than that of his father Chandragupta II. The known number of his coin-types in gold is fourteen. These are known as the Archer, Horseman, Lion-slayer, Chhattra, Tiger-slayer, Aśvamedha, Lyrist, King and Queen (or King and Lakshmī ?) Kārttikeya, Swordsman, Elephant-rider, Elephant-rider-cum-Lion-slayer, Rhinoceros-slayer and Apratigha types[42] (pl. V, nos. 1 and 3-7; pl. VI, nos, 1-13). Of these the first four types may be considered as continuations of the types coined by Chandragupta II, who himself followed his father Samudragupta in issuing coins of the Archer and Standard types. Though Kumāragupta I did not adopt the last noted type of his father and grandfather, he revived the latter's Tiger-slayer, Aśvamedha and Lyrist types. Indication of at least the thematic continuation of the King and Queen on Couch type of Chandragupta II may perhaps be discerned in the King and Queen type of his son. The rest of Kumāragupta's gold coin-types may be taken as innovations, at least in the Gupta coin series.

Kumāragupta I continued the Garuḍa type silver coinage (pl. V, nos. 8-10), initiated earlier by Chandragupta II in the western provinces of the empire on the basis of silver specie of the Western Kshatrapas.[43] Kumāragupta I introduced Peacock type silver coins, bearing a bust on the obverse and a fan-tailed peacock on the reverse (pl. VI, no. 14). This type was probably meant for circulation in the Madhyadeśa area of the empire and so is also called as the Madhyadeśa type.[44] The third type of his silver specie bearing a bust and trident, may be termed as the Trident type.[45] silver ✓

The lead coins of Kumāragupta I are round, square, and rectangular in shape. Garuḍa with outstretched wings appears on their obverse. The reverse bears the name of the king and sometimes the year (of issue)[46] (pl. X, no. 7).

The copper issues of Kumāragupta I include the Chhattra (standing king being attended to by an umbrella-bearer : Garuḍa), Archer (standing king holding a bow and an arrow : Garuḍa), Standing king (standing king : Garuḍa), Altar (altar : seated Lakshmī), Bust or Head (a bust or head : Garuḍa), Vase (crescent and vase : Garuḍa), Garuḍa (legend *Ku* : Garuḍa), and Peacock (crowned head ; peacock) and also perhaps Horseman (king on horse : seated goddess) types.[47] Though many of these types betray impact of Chandragupta II's copper specie, they also indicate innovations: For an example, peacock is not knowh to have appeared on the copper coins of Kumāragupta I's father.

It is interesting to note that there are numerous silver-plated copper coins bearing the silver coin-types of Kumāragupta I. We know of a large number of such pieces displaying a bust and Garuḍa and relatively small number of plated coins showing a bust and a fan-tailed peacock.[48] These silver plated copper coins may have been produced "(i) at the time of financial crisis (forcing the mint-masters to issue coins of debased metal), or (ii) at the time of financial stability (giving opportunity to the mint-masters for minting coins of less than prescribed intrinsic value for the use of gullible public), or

(iii) at counterfeiters' ateliers''.[49] It is difficult to ascertain whether these pieces betray a financial crisis due to some political troubles in the last years of the reign of Kumāragupta I,[50] about which, however, there is no definite proof.[50a] The evidence of a very crudely executed gold-plated coin of the Archer type (bearing the legend *śrī-Vikrama*), found during an excavation at Purana Qila,[51] may hint at counterfeiters' activities in the Gupta empire.

There is, however, no doubt that the Bhitari inscription clearly indicates that the Gupta empire faced crisis in the beginning of Skandagupta's rule.[52] Though Skandagupta survived the crisis, there might have been a set-back in the fortune of the empire. We do not know whether this is reflected in the gradual decline in the known number of the Gupta coins and in the variegated nature of the Gupta coinage from the days of Skandagupta.

This ruler is known to have used only two or probably four types for his gold coinage, viz. the Archer, King and Lakshmī, Chhattra and Horseman types (pl. IX, nos. 1–4). The obverse of the King and Lakshmī type is typologically based on the King and Queen (or King and Lakshmī ?) type of Kumāragupta I. Other types are also largely indebted to the coinage of his father. Skandagupta's Archer type coins include pieces struck following the traditional *suvarṇa* standard of 80 *raktikas* or about 144 grains as well as those conforming to the weight standard followed earlier in the empire.[53]

Silver

In the domain of silver coinage Skandagupta introduced certain new features. Beside continuing to issue the Garuḍa and Peacock type coins, he also introduced two new types, one displaying a bull and the other an altar on the reverse[54] (pl. IX, nos. 5–8).

Lead coins of Skandagupta are square or rectangular in shape. The obverse shows Garuḍa with outstretched wings, while the reverse displays the legend *śrī-Skandaguptasya* and sometimes also the year (of issue).[55]

Unlike his father and grandfather, Skandagupta did not mint copper. So was the case with his successors. Of the latter rulers, silver coins of the Peacock (or Madhyadeśa) type of only Budhagupta are known.[56] Again, the successors of Skandagupta, including Kumāragupta II, Budhagupta, Chandragupta III (?), Vainyagupta, Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta III and Vishṇugupta struck only Archer type gold coins conforming to the *suvarṇa* weight standard[57] (pl. IX, nos. 10–12 and 14–16; pl. X. no. 3). If Bhānugupta, who may be included among the successors of Skandagupta, has been correctly identified with Prakaśāditya of coins, then he can be considered to have minted not only the Archer type, but also a new type (Horseman-cum-Lion-slayer).[57a] He also followed the *suvarṇa* standard (pl. IX, no. 13; pl. X, no. 5).

There was a gradual decline in the content of pure metal in the gold pieces of these rulers.[58] The rate of decline accentuated during the reign of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya. The gold contents of a number of his coins, determined at the laboratories of the British Museum (London) and the Indian Museum (Calcutta), indicate that though some of the pieces have more than 70% of their metal in pure gold, in others it is not much above 50%[59]. While the first figure is in proximity to the percentage figures of the gold contents of coins of Skandagupta, Kumāragupta II, Budhagupta and Vainyagupta, the second figure associates the pieces concerned with those of Kumāragupta III and Vishṇugupta, the last known monarch of the Gupta empire. The sharp decline in the percentage of pure gold in the metal content of the coins could have affected the quality of coinage.

The metrological data should be judged against the background of the typological evidence noted above. The variegated nature of the Gupta coinage was most expressive in the specie of Kumāragupta I. The variety in type became much less prominent in the coinage of Skandagupta. Still he showed some innovations in introducing new devices as well as in using an indigenous (*suvarṇa*) weight standard.[60] Thus at least up to the time of Skandagupta the creative talent was at work in the Gupta mints. After him only once a novelty was introduced in the days of Prakaśāditya, when his mint-master combined the Horseman and Lion-slayer devices to form the obverse motif on his Horseman-cum-Lion-slayer type coins (pl. IX, no. 13).

Thus at least up to the time of Skandagupta the Guptas were in a position to produce quality coins, which could pass as objects of art. It is not suggested that it was impossible to mint a piece of good quality after the last noted monarch. Nor it is maintained that all coins turned out by the Gupta mints up to his age were works of art. In fact, the best artistic talents of the empire might not have been available always at all of its mints, and this factor might, along with other facts, tell on the quality of the products. Nevertheless, it seems justifiable to hold that conditions were favourable in the days of the early Gupta emperors (up to and including Skandagupta), and particularly in the periods of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, for producing coins which could be classed as objects of art. So, we may profitably look at the stylistic features of the early Gupta coins.

B

Gliding linearism and a subtle sense of movement characterise the figures appearing on a great number of the coins of the Imperial Guptas particularly on their gold coins[61] (pll. II–VI and IX). Well-proportioned human figures, are shown as sitting or standing in various postures[62] (pll. II-VI and IX). The royal male figures, with sheath of muscles rippling under skin, exude strength, robustness and vitality[63] (pl. I, nos. 4 and 5; pl. II, no. 11; pl. III, no. 3; pl. IV, no. 6; etc.). The royal or divine female figures have soft, graceful and slender forms and refined (often sensuous) contours[64] (pl. II, nos. 6, 8 and 10; pl. III, nos. 3 and 7; pl. IV, no. 1; pl. V, no. 7; pl. VI, no. 4; etc.). Divine figures on gold pieces sometimes radiate spiritual sublimity.[65]

All these characteristics are discernible in well executed stone (and also in some stucco and terracotta) sculptures of the Gupta empire and/or age, particularly in those produced following the Sarnath or Mathurā idioms[66] (pl. IV, no. 2; pl. VIII, nos. 1 and 3). Many of the female figures on the gold coins (pl. II, nos. 7-8; pl. III, no. 7), like the sculpture and literature of the age, do reflect a somewhat new idea of feminine beauty which we now call classical[67] (see also above section A). As in the sculptural art,[68] so also in numismatic art human form became the centre of attraction (pll. I-VI and IX) (see also above Section A).

We may find resemblance between the poses or postures of figures appearing on coins and in sculptures. For an example, we may compare the standing posture of the [illegible] river goddess Yamunā (or Gaṅgā ?) on the Tiger-slayer type coins of Samudragupta (pl. IV, no. 1) with that of the divine female figure on a *makara* (i. e. Gaṅgā) in a sculpture from Besnagar (c. A. D. 500)[69] (pl. IV, no. 2). There is a striking correspondence between the scheme of representation of Gaṅgā on the Rhinoceros-slayer type coins of Kumāragupta I (which show her as standing in a *dvibhaṅga* pose with an attendant on her left holding a parasol over her head) (pl. IV, no. 6) and that of another river goddess, viz. Yamunā, on a door jamb, found at Buxar (Bihar) and now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta[70] (pl. IV, no. 7). Gaṅgā is also similarly shown on the corresponding jamb of the same door from Buxar as standing in a *dvibhaṅga* pose with a parasol bearing attendant placed on her right (and not left, as in the case of the figure of Yamunā) (pl. IV, no. 5).

Hemant
Golden

The figures of animal on well produced coins have life-like appearance with facile contours defining the volume. They often exhibit their characteristic qualities. The king of beasts appears majestically as the mount of a goddess on numerous pieces (pl. III, no. 3; pl. V, no. 6). The same animal exhibits its power to struggle on the Lion-slayer type coins (pl. II, no. 11; pl. III, no. 3; pl. V, no. 6). Standing or prancing horses on several coins are, with their well-built muscular bodies, pictures of robust vitality (pl. I, no. 5; pl. V, no. 4). But the uncaparisoned animal on a variety of of the Aśvamedha type coins of Kumāragupta I (pl. VI, nos. 8-9; pl. VII, nos. 2-3) appears to be somewhat mechanical, lifeless and sad in appearance. In style and scheme of representation it has striking affinity to a stone horse from Khairigarh, now preserved at the State Museum, Lucknow[71] (pl. VII, no. 4). The latter is a replica of the horse sacrificed at the aśvamedha performed by Kumāragupta (I) Mahendrāditya.[72] The die-cutter(s) as well as the sculptor ably represented a helpless animal, standing still with stooping head and sorrowful eyes, apprehending the imminent death at the horse sacrifice.

The elephant and rhinoceros on a number of pieces exude strength (pl. IV, no.6; pl. VI, nos. 4 and 12). The tiger on the Tiger-slayer type coins appears to be ferocious (pl. IV, no. 1; pl, VI, no. 10). On the other hand, the peacock on the Kārttikeya type coins has a charming appearance (pl. V, no. 1). It appears with Kārttikeya also in Gupta sculpture[73] (pl. V, no. 2).

Figures on early Gupta gold pieces are in fairly high relief, apparently as a result of the use of well-intagliated dies. However, sometimes they lack physiognomical details (pl. II, nos. 9-10), due to defect in sculpting the relevant dies or in striking the coins or owing to "a deliberate taste for the unfinished" (as betrayed by several figures on Kushāṇa coins).[74]

Differences between physiognomical details of the early kings represented on gold coins suggest that they bear royal portraits. However, on silver coins we perhaps witness only conventional busts[75] (pl. II, no. 13; pl. V, nos. 8-10; pl. VI, no. 14; pl. IX, nos. 5-8). On the other hand, representations of Chandragupta II on his copper coins are often more life-like[76] (pl. I, no. 7; pl. II, no. 14).

Typologically as well as metrologically Gupta gold pieces betray impact of coinages of the Imperial Kushāṇas and their immediate successors in the North-Western section of the Indian subcontinent. For examples, we can refer to such devices as "the king sacrificing at an altar", "goddess on lion", "goddess on throne" (Ardokhsho), "elephant rider", "three standing figures" (pl. II, nos. 3-4; pl. VI, no. 4; pl. V, no. 7), etc.[77] In the obverse device of the Chakravikrama type of Chandragupta II, showing the king receiving certain objects and so some kind of favour from a deity, one may discern influence of an idea reflected in a coin-type of Huvishka, portraying him as kneeling before Nanā, and also in a seal displaying a royal Yüeh-chih personage receiving a diademed fillet from Manao Bago[78] (pl. II, nos. 15-17). It is interesting to note that Chakrapurusha, shown as a male with a wheel behind him or by his side, appears as an āyudhapurusha or personified attribute of Vishṇu and also as an independent deity in Gupta sculptural art[79] (pl. IV, no. 3).

The inspiration for displaying royal bust on silver coins of the Guptas must have been received from the Kshtrapa coinage of Western India. The "altar" type on the Gupta silver and copper coins (pl. IX, no. 8 ; pl. VI, no. 15) may betray the die-cutters' knowledge of the early Sasanian pieces carrying the same device.[79a]

The Gupta artists gradually Indianised or replaced foreign devices, attributes and, to some extent, dresses and ornaments. The Goddess on Lion began to appear (as Durgā Siṁhavāhinī) in various postures[80] (pl. II, no. 11 ; pl. V, no. 6). The enthroned goddess of fortune (Ardokhsho) of non-Indian origin (pl. II, no. 1) was gradually replaced by the Indian goddess of prosperity, Lakshmī or Śrī, seated on lotus and holding a noose and the stalk of a lotus[81] (pl. II, no. 10). Her appearance on one side of the coins displaying the king on the other calls to our mind Kalidāsa's description of Padmā (i. e. 'the lotus hued one' or Śrī) "herself invisibly attending upon him who was initiated into universal sovereignty (i. e. king Raghu) by holding a lotus umbrella" (i. e. a lotus serving the purpose of a royal umbrella (*......tamādṛiśyā kila svayaṁ padmā padmātapatrena bheje samrājya-dīkshitam*).[82]

In choosing the devices for the bewildering varieties of coins the mint-masters appear to have been often motivated by the desire to project the valour and skill of the kings and to commemorate important events. For examples, we can refer to Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type of Chandragupta I (pl. I, no. 1), Battle-axe type of Samudragupta (pl. II, no. 5), Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I (pl. IV, no. 1 ; pl. VI, no. 10), Lion slayer type of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I (pl. II, no. 11 ; pl. V, no. 6), Elephant-rider-cum-Lion-slayer type of Kumāragupta I (pl. VI, no. 12), Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I (pl. IV, no.6), Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I (pl. II, no. 7 ; pl. VI, nos. 8-9), etc.

The royal achievements depicted in these devices are referred to in the accompanying legends. In fact, legends on Gupta coins show inclination to allude to the supernatural strength, character and performances of the kings and to their authority over earth (and even heaven). A few of these inscriptions connect or compare the monarchs with gods and even deify the monarchs. The obverse legend on the Couch type coins of Chandragupta II refers to him as *deva*. The legend *Chakravikramaḥ* on the reverse of the coins of the Chakravikrama type of Chandragupta II (showing him as receiving certain objects from Chakrapurusha) (pl. II, no. 17) may mean that the king's valour was like that of Chakrapurusha or that his valour was received from the latter. In the obverse and also reverse legends on the Kārttikeya type coins, displaying Kumāragupta I feeding a peacock on one side and Kārttikeya (also called Kumāra) riding a peacock on the other (pl. V, no, 3), refer to the sovereign as *Mahendrakumāra*.[83] In the inscription on a variety of Lion-slayer type coins the same king is imagined as Narasiṁha (or Nṛsiṁha), an incarnate of Vishṇu[84] (*sākshādiva narasiṁho siṁhamahendro jayatyaniśam*). In the inscription on the obverse of one of the varieties of the Horseman type coins of Kumāragupta I, he is described as "invincible" (*ajita*), "lord of the earth" and "veritable Indra" (*pṛithivītaleśvarendra*).[85]

In course of discussing the numismatic allusions to the supernatural or divine character of the Gupta kings we can also refer to two other coin-types. The Horseman type coins of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I show on the obverse a male figure riding on a prancing horse (pl. II, no. 12; pl. V, no, 4). The male, generally identified as the king, is either without any weapon or is equiped with a bow or bow and sword.[86] The reverse legend refers to the invincible character of the king concerned.[86a] It has been suggested that Chandragupta II on these coins is represented as Kalkī, an incarnation of Vishṇu.[87] This suggestion merits consideration inspite of the fact that "equestrian figure" was a well-known coin device from a pre-Gupta period. The *Agni Purāṇa* describes Kalkī as *inter alia* the exterminator of the Mlechchhas, a rider on horse and holder of bow and sword.[88] The two armed variety of the image of Kalkī, the exterpator of the Mlechchhas, has been described in the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* as representing "a powerful person, angry in mood, riding on a horse with a sword in his raised hand".[89] These descriptions tally substantially with the representation of Chandragupta II, the victor of the Śakas, on the coins concerned. So there may be an allusion to him as Kalkī incarnation of Vishṇu in the obverse device of his Horseman type coins. Similar observation may be made about Kumāragupta I as represented on the obverse of his Horseman type coins (pl. V, no. 4). We do not know whether analogous remarks hold good also for the obverse device of the horseman type coins of Skandagupta (?), the conquerer of the Hūṇas, where, however, the king is shown without any weapon[90] (pl. IX, no. 4).

The obverse of the so-called Apratigha type[91] coins of Kumāragupta I display three standing human figures (pl. V, no. 5). The central one wears a short garment (made of deer-skin ?) covering the portion from the waist to the knees and having a loose part hanging between the two legs. The hands are placed in folded fashion (?) on the chest. The hair is tied in a knot on the head. The figure is no doubt that of an ascetic or monk. But the legend (*Kumāragupta*) accompanying the figure clearly identifies it as representing Kumāragupta (I). So the coin-device intends to represent Kumāragupta as an ascetic. However, the royal Garuḍa standard appearing behind the figure of the king indicates him as the ruling king. So the die-cutter's intention seems to have been to project him as a ruling king leading otherwise the life of an ascetic. The king is accompanied by a male holding a shield (crown prince or the general of the army) on his right and a female (chief queen ?) on his left, who are shown as arguing with him. Their posture in the present type should suggest that they are shown as persuading the king not to renounce the throne. That they were successful (and not unsuccessful, as thought by A. S. Altekar)[92] is betrayed by the coin-type itself and the evidence of the Bhitari inscription referring to the crisis in the fortune of the family after his death and thereby indicating his rule up to that time.[93] The reverse legend *Apratigha* (meaning 'one who is invincible', or 'one who can not be warded off', or 'one who is not angry') probably indicates invincible Kumāragupta's resolve to lead an ascetic's life even while remaining on the throne. The expression "saint (-like) over-king of kings" (*rājādhirājarshi*), applied to Chandragupta II, in Vīrasena Śāba's inscription, seems to be equally applicable to Kumāragupta.[94] This interpretation of the complex nature of the coin-device in question[95] seems to be better than considering it as betraying the king's Buddhist leaning[96] or as identifying him with the Buddha, to whom also the epithet Apratigha was applicable.[97]

In their attempts to stress the divine character of the Gupta kingship the mint-masters concerned were really reflecting an idea well-known to literature (*Manu-smriti*, VII, 8; *Mahabhārata*, *Śāntiparvan*, 59, 128–35; 68, 40f; etc.) and epigraphs. The famous *praśasti* composed by Harishena describes Samudragupta as "God dwelling on earth" (*lokadhāmadevaḥ*).

These considerations indicate that the Imperial Guptas, like the Imperial Kushāṇas,[97a] used coins as a medium of propaganda. The mint-masters did not remain content with displaying the portrait of the kings only. Some of the types display also the queens[98] (pl. I, no. 1; pl. III, no. 5).

The deities (like Nanā or Durgā on lion, Chakrapurusha, goddess of prosperity or good fortune, Kārttikeya, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and others), who appear on Gupta coins, are also represented in sculptures of the Gupta age. In fact the figure of Kārttikeya riding a peacock set on a pedestal, as shown on the reverse of the Kārttikeya type coins (pl. V, no. 1), seems to be a faithful copy of a cult icon.[99] We have already referred to the relationship between the representations of Gaṅgā or Yamunā in sculptural and numismatic art.[100]

It is interesting to note that though the Guptas allowed different faiths to flourish in their empire, they were selective in choosing the deities to be represented on their coins. It is note-worthy that the Buddha or Mahāvīra does not appear on the Gupta coins, though the doctrines propagated by them had many followers in the Gupta territory. The divine figures selected by the Gupta mint-masters for displaying on their gold pieces were either deities of the Vaishṇava sect (to which the Guptas belonged) or of the cult of Śakti (to which the monarchs aspiring to be conquerers had to be devoted), or of the creed of wealth and prosperity (which the kings wanted to possess or achieve), or those (including a few of the Brahmanical systems) usable to the empire and/or its rulers.[100a]

✓ It may not be without significance that [the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā are deified on the Gupta coins.] Perhaps the representations of these rivers, easily the very important ones in the Gupta empire, indicated the Gupta territory itself as situated *inter alia*, along these water courses.[100b] Similarly the goddess of prosperity or Śrī appearing on the Gupta coins might have been looked upon also as the goddess of the prosperity of the kingdom (Rājyaśrī or Rājyalakshmī). Such a hypothesis finds support in the statement of the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta that he became the emperor as "he was chosen (as husband) by Lakshmī herself after discarding all other princes" (*vapetya sarvān=manujendra-putrāṁ=llakshmī svayaṁ yaṁ varayāṁ-chakāra*). This epigraphic claim is beautifully corroborated by the appearance of *Rājyalakshmī*, holding (like seated Lakshmī) a lotus and a noose (?), by the side of Skandagupta on a variety of his coins[101] (pl. IX, no. 2).

Syncretism, a feature of Indian iconography, was not altogether unknown to the die-cutters employed by the Guptas. In the appearance of a female deity standing on a *makara* and feeding a peacock on the reverse of the Tiger-slayer type coins of Kumāragupta I[102] (pl. VI, no. 10), we may discern a fusion of the concept of Gaṅgā with that of the consort of Kārttikeya, whose mount is peacock. Or does this coin-type represent Gaṅgā, the goddess of the most important and beneficial river of the empire, as nourishing the mount of Kumāra, meaning the emperor as well as the god Kārttikeya ?

Not only peacock or *makara*, but also mounts of other deities appear on Gupta coins. Garuḍa, the mount of Vishṇu, can be seen on several varieties of Gupta specie as well as seals[103]. The representation of Garuḍa is fairly lifelike on several copper pieces (pl. II, no. 14), while it is schematic on many silver and lead pieces (pl. V, nos. 8–10; pl. X, nos. 6–9). Bull, the mount as well as the theriomorphic representation of Śiva, is noticeable on a class of silver coins of Skandagupta.[104] (pl. IX, no. 7). Trident on a variety of Kumāragupta I's silver pieces[105] may also allude to Śaivism.[106]

Of the different symbols on the Gupta coins we can refer especially to the lunar symbol or crescent. It appears sometimes on a standard which can be called *Chandradhvaja* (like *Chakradhvaja* and *Garuḍadhvaja*). One may imagine that here the representation of *chandra* (moon) may have an allusion to Chandragupta I, the real founder of the Gupta empire, or to the royal family of which Chandragupta I was the first emperor.

The varieties of the Gupta coins decreased from the reign of Skandagupta. Gold coinage of his successors is known from their coins showing the king as an archer on one side and a seated goddess on the other.[107] Both the devices, particularly the latter, influenced coin-types of later periods.[108] Similarly, devices on silver coins of the Guptas (at least one variety of which was struck by Budhagupta even some time after Skandagupta) made impact on post-Gupta coinages.[109]

C

The coinage of the Imperial Guptas, particularly of the earlier ones, forms an independent medium of art. In its nascent stage some weakness of the artists concerned was betrayed by a little angularity of many of the figures on the early Gupta coins (pl. I, no. 1) and almost slavish imitations of Kushāṇa devices like the "king at altar" and "enthroned Ardokhsho" in the standard type of Samudragupta (pl. II, no. 4), and "Nana on lion" on Chandragupta I's coins (which also bear behind Nanā traces of the back of the throne of Ardoksho) (pl. II, no. 3). At the same time the creative talent of the age made its presence felt from the very beginning of the Gupta coinage by introducing the "Standing King and Queen" device (pl. II, no. 3). The creative genius soon asserted itself in the field of numismatic art, and the Gupta mints began to produce a great number of pieces of real beauty. Such developments, however, did not altogether preclude the possibility of minting coins of lesser artistic merit due to employment of die-cutters of comparatively inferior skill and/or defect in preparation of blanks.

Several stylistic features betrayed by well executed figures on coins correspond to those of the Gupta sculpture. Nevertheless, the Gupta die-cutters had their own technique for hewing out in negative the relevant figures on the die in such a way as to impart a sense of three dimensions to them in their positive impressions on the flat flans of the coins. Some of the deities on these coins are also interesting iconographically. The coin-types illustrating the valour, skill and achievements of the kings are accompanied by well-composed legends, mostly metrical, alluding to their identical qualifications. Here we have a novel blending of literary compositions with visual art. Epigraphic references to royal skill and achievements sometimes find corroboration from coin-types. For an example, we can refer to the Lyrist type of Samudragupta, which displays him as playing a lyre or lute and thereby translates into visual art the subject matter of a part of an epigraph (or a piece of epigraphic literature) (viz. Allahabad *praśasti* of Harisheṇa), referring to the musical accomplishments of the king.

It appears that the coins of the Gupta empire formed an important medium of art having intimate relationship with other branches of creative activities. The variety in type continued to increase up to the reign of Kumāragupta I in the cases of gold coinage and up to the time of Skandagupta in the case of silver specie. The stylistic excellence of Gupta art was reflected in coinage at least up to the period of Skandagupta,[110] and perhaps at least at some mints up to the time of Budhagupta and Vainyagupta, and even up to a part of Narasiṁhagupta's reign (pl. IX, nos. 9–14).

But already on the majority of the post-Skandagupta gold coins the figures had become somewhat angular in appearance. This can be clearly demonstrated by a comparison between the equestrian figure on the coins of Chandragupta or Kumāragupta I (pl. II, no. 12; pl. V, no. 4) and that on the coins of Prakaśāditya (pl. IX, no. 13). The rigidity of the outlines of the figures was accentuated after the heavy debasement of gold coinage in the reign of Narasiṁhagupta. The representations of the seated goddess as well as of the standing male often became somewhat schematic.[111] The die-cutters were not always able to impart to the figures a sense of volume or movement.[112] All these features betray decline in the standard of numismatic art (pl. IX, nos. 15–16). This was due *inter alia* to the use of die-cutter of comparatively inferior skill and/or defect in the manufacture of blanks made of debased metal. Another reason might have been the loss of the urge for using coinage as a medium of propaganda, which had been earlier to a great extent responsible for production by well-organised Gupta mints a great number of objects of art.

NOTES

1. *CA*, pp. XLVIf.
2. *CII*, vol. III, *IEGKS*, p. 127; *CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, p. 186. Some scholars think that the era commenced in A. D. 318 (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 280).
3. H. C. Raychoudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, pp. 626f: *CA*, p. 42; D. C. Sircar, *Śilālekha Tāmraśāsanādi Prasaṅga* (in Bengali), pp. 29f.
4. *CA*, pp. 8f; S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 122f; *CII*, vol, III, *IEGK*, pp. 8f and 213; S. K. Maity, *The Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period*, pp. 188–190; etc.
5. *CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, pp. 214, 256 and 156f; *CA*, pp. 291f, 365f and 466f.
6. *CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, p. 214.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
8. The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* states that "the panegyric of a king, in prose and verse, is styled *Biruda*". As pointed out by D. R. Bhandarkar, this definition suits Harishena's *praśasti* of Samudragupta excellently (*CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, p. 160).
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 256–257.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 166f.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 167–168. Compare vv. 10 and 11 of the Mandasor inscription with the *Meghadūta*, *Uttaramegha*, 1–2. Also compare v. 31 of the epigraphic record with the *Ṛtusamhāra*, v. 2–3.
13. *CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, pp. 174–176; *CA*, p. 302.
14. *CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, p. 301.
15. *CGE*, pl. III, nos. 15–17; pl. V, no. 5.
16. For an account of the activities of different religious sects in the Gupta empire, see *CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, pp. 122f, see also P. L. Gupta, *The Imperial Guptas*, vol II, pp. 128f.
17. *CA*, pp. 392, 413, 423 and 437.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 466f and 516f.
19. S. K. Maity, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–140, 155–164 and 53–70; H. P. Chakravarti, *India as Reflected in the Inscriptions of the Gupta Period*, pp. 70f; P. L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 105f. A silk-weaver's guild was rich enough to build a great Sun temple at Daśapura. Two Kshatriya merchants of Indrāpura established another temple of Sun. Income from different sources of revenue as well as war booties (?) filled up the royal treasury (*CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, pp. 213–214). However, the society as a whole might not have been prosperous. (In this connection see also D. N. Jha, *Ancient India-An Introductory Outline*, p. 115).
20. *CA*, XLVII, and pp. 320–323; P. L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 195f. "As regards technical science, the great iron pillar at Meharauli near Delhi is a triumph of metallurgy" (*ibid.*, p. XLVII). See also D. M. Bose and others (editors), *A Concise History of Science in India*, pp. 82f, 164f, 299, etc. The huge statue of the Buddha of c. 5th century A. D., found at Sultanganj, sheds light on the "copper metal working of the time" (*ibid.*, p. 299).
21. *SIS*, pp. 124f; *Kumārasambhava I*, 49; *Meghadūta*, *Uttaramegha*, 21.
22. *SIS*, pp. 128–129.

    Sarvopamādravya-samuc̣c̣ayena yathāpradeśam
    viniveśitena
    sā nirmitā viśvasṛsjā prayatnādekastha-
    saundarya - didṛikṣayeva // (*Kumārasambhava*, I, 49).
    Tanvī śyāmā śikhari-daśanā pakkavimbā-
    -dharoshṭhī madhye kshāmā cakita-hariṇī
    prekshaṇā nimna-nābhiḥ /
    śroṇībhārādalasā-gamanā stoka-namrā
    stanābhyāṁ yā tatra syādyuvatī-
    -viṣaye sṛṣṭirādyeva dhātuḥ //
    (*Meghaduta*, *Uttaramegha*, 21).

23. *SIS*, pp. 63f, 84f, 125 and 133f.
24. We can notice high percentage of gold in the gold coins of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta, and Chandragupta II and in a great number of gold coins of Kumāragupta I (S. K. Maity, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204; *JNSI*, vol. XX, pp. 184–187f).
25. While referring to the customs of Central India (i. e. Madhyadeśa), which was probably within the Gupta empire during the time of Fa-hsien's visit, he stated that "in buying and selling commodities they use cowries" (Fa-hsien, *Fo-kuo chi*, ch. XVI). But epigraphic data prove that for purchasing land, for making endowments, etc., coins were used in the Gupta empire (*CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, pp. 245, 250, 271, 285, 290, 344, 362, etc.).
26. The Gupta coinage surely betrays influence of the coinage of the Kushāṇa empire. The metrology of the Gupta gold coins was initially based on that of the gold coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas and their successors in the Punjab area of the Indian subcontinent. Several types, motifs and symbols on the Gupta coins suggest influence from the same direction. In fact, the reverse device (goddess on lion) of the gold specie of Chandragupta I, the first striker of Gupta coins, was largely copied from the "Nanā on lion" device of Kanishka III's coinage (pl. II, nos. 2 and 3) *CGE*, pp. 15 and 287; *KCLFR*, pp. 67f; *NL*, p. 35; etc.). It appears that the early mint-masters of the Gupta empire had knowledge of the awe-inspiring varieties of the Kushāṇa coinage. A part of the Kushāṇa coinage might have continued to circulate at the time of the beginning of the Gupta empire.
27. *CGE*, pl. I, no. 9f; pp, 26f.
28. *JNSI*, 1975, vol. XXXVII, pt. II, pp. 83-84; pl. XII, no. 2; 1979, vol. XLI, p. 47–50; 1981, vol. XLIII, pp. 54-59; pl. II, nos. 4-6, 1982, vol. XLIV, pp. 48-51; pl. IV, no. 10. A few (six?) silver pieces of Chandragupta I—Kumāradevī type have been attributed to Chandragupta I. Two silver pieces bearing the Standard type of Samudragupta and one silver piece carrying the Chhattra type of Chandragupta II have been noticed. It is to be noted that none of these pieces has been recovered from an excavation or from a hoard. The recorded weights of these coins (about 87 grains or 5.637 gms, 3.560 gms, 4.200 gms, 4.250 gms, 5 gms, 3.560 gms, 4 gms, 4.9 gms, and 4.5782 gms) do not indicate that all of these are struck on a single weight standard. A silver piece of Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type, recently examined by us, appears to be a cast piece. Since genuine Gupta coins appear to have been die-struck, this piece is a forgery. All these considerations do not allow us to accept (in the present state of kournowledge) these silver pieces as products of a Gupta mint.
29. *CGE*. pp. 38f.

30. R. D. Banerjee, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 214.
31. The legend on a copper piece, claimed to be referring to Samudragupta (*JNSI*, 1972, vol. XXXIV, p. 224), cannot be read with confidence (*ibid.*, pl. X, no. 5). We prefer to read the legend as (*Ça*) *nd* (ra) *gup* (*ta*).
32. *CGE*, pp. 87–88 and 47–48; pl. IV, no. 1 and pl. II, no. 1. The obverse of Kāça's coins closely follow the Standard type of Samudragupta. The standing posture of the female figure on the reverse has some similarity with that of the queen on the reverse of the Aśvamedha type coins of Samudragupta. Kāça's coins have been found along with the coins of the Guptas in a number of hoards (*CGE*, pp. 308f). Hence Kāça was an otherwise known or unknown early Gupta monarch, or a userper of the Gupta throne for a short period, or the king of a part of an area carved out of the Gupta empire (where Samudragupta's coins had been in circulation when Kāça began to rule).
33. Copper coins of Rāmagupta are of Lion type (lion : crescent and legend), Garuḍa type (Garuḍa : crescent and legend), Garuḍa-standard type (Garuḍa standard : Garuḍa) and Double Garuḍa type (Garuḍa : Garuḍa with outstretched wings) (*CGE*, p. 162; K. D. Bajpai; *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp. 129f).
34. We know of three image pedestal inscriptions referring to Mahārajādhirāja Rāmagupta. They have been found in the Vidisa district of the Mālwā area of M. P. (*CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, pp. 231–234 and pl. V). Palaeographic features of the coin-legends and of the epigraphs suggest that the ruler belonged to about the 4th century A. D.
35. For a discussion on the literary tradition, see *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pl. I, pp. 47–48.
36. *Ibid.*, 48; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
37. *CGE*, pp. 90f. *JNSI*, 1947, vol. IX, p. 146 and pl. VII, no. 3; P. L. Gupta and S. Srivastava, *Gupta Gold Coins in the Bharat Kalā Bhavan*, p. 38 and pl. IV, no. 59. P. L. Gupta and S. Srivastava are inclined to identify the male and the female figure in question in the King and Queen-on-couch type coins as Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī respectively (*op. cit.*, pp. 46–47).
38. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, pp. 53–54; *CGE*, p. 150. In this connection see also above n. 28.
39. *Numismatic Digest*, 1981, vol. V, p. 24.
40. *CGE*, pp. 156f; K. D. Bajpai, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–144. K. D. Bajpai wants to attribute to Chandragupta II a copper piece bearing an ornamental tree (*Kalpavṛkṣa* ?) on one side and the legend *jitam bhagavatā padmnābhena* (*JNSI*, 1971, vol. XXXIII, pt. I, pp. 121–122; K. D. Bajpai, *op. cit.*, p. 151). But this attribution is disputed (*JNSI*, 1972, vol. XXXIV, pp. 253f).

41. *Journal of the U, P. Historical Society*, 1957, ns, vol. V, pt. II, p. 100 and pl. IV, no. A. C. D. Chatterji thinks that this coin was struck on a standard of 40 ratis or about 73–74 grains. He thinks that a brass coin of the "later Kushāṇa" (sic) king Basana (standing king : enthroned goddess), weighing 65.65 grains (*JRAS*, 1893, p. 146), had been earlier struck on the same weight standard (*Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, 1957, ns, vol. V, pt. II, p. 103; f.n. 2; pp. 109 and 114).
42. *CGE*, pp. 165f.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 216f.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 228f.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
46. *Numismatic Digest*, 1981, vol. V, pt. I, pp. 24–25.
47. *CGE*, pp. 236f and 353–354; K. D. Bajpai, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–146. A. S. Altekar published a Horseman type coin, which, according to him, "might have been originally gold-plated" (*CGE*, p. 353).
48. *CGE*, pp. 232–233.
49. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, p. 1431, f. n. 67.
50. B. P. Sinha, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha (c. 455–500 A. D.)*, pp. 1–3; *CA*, p. 24; *CGGCBH*, p. XXX; *CGE*, p. 232; etc. There is, however, no definite evidence in support of the theory of crisis in the empire towards the end of Kumāragupta I's reign (*CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, pp. 79f; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. I, pp. 69f). In fact, the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta suggests a crisis in the fortune of the royal dynasty immediately after the death of his father Kumāragupta I (*pitari divam-upete viluptāṁ vaṁśa-lakṣmīṁ bhūja-bala-vijitārir=yyaḥ pratiṣṭhāpya bhūyaḥ*) (*CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, p. 315). However, the crisis might have started shortly before the death of Kumāragupta I.

50a. See above n. 50.

51. *Indian Archaeology, 1970–71, A Review*, p. 10; pl. XXVII, no. B. A. S, Altekar noticed a gold-plated copper coin of the Archer type. He read the name Chandra on the obverse and the inscription *Śri-Vikramaḥ* on the reverse (*CGE*, p. 349; pl. XXIXB, no. 10). There is a gold-plated coin with the reverse legend *śri-(Vi) kramā (dityaḥ)* in the State Museum, Lucknow. Its accession no. is 11392.
52. See above n. 50.
53. *CGE*, pp. 242f. The attribution of Chhatra and Horseman types to Skandagupta cannot be regarded as certain. The circular legend on the obverse of the known specimens cannot be usefully read. The reverse legend is, no doubt, *Kramāditya*, a known title of Skandagupta (*CGE*, pp. 244, 249 and 250). But this title was also assumed by Ghaṭotkaçagupta, a brother of Skandagupta (or of Kumāra-

gupta I) (*CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, p. 279). The title appears on the only known coin of the Archer type of Ghaṭa (=Ghaṭotkachagupta) (*CGE*, p. 264; pl. XIV, no. 16).

54. *CGE*, pp. 250f.

55. *Numismatic Digest*, 1981, vol. V, pt. I, p. 25.

56. *CGE*, p. 279.

57. *JNSI*, 1950, vol. XII, pt. I, pp. 31-33; *Com. Hist. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, pp. 1382-83; *CGE*, pp. 266f; *JNSI*, 1954, vol. XVI, pp. 102-104 and pl. II, no. 14; 1950, vol. XII, pp. 31-33; 1980, XLII, p. 120 and pl. IV, no. 2; *Numismatic Digest*, 1981, vol. V, pt. II, pp. 36f.

57a. *JNSI*, 1950, vol. XII, p. 35; 1980, vol. XLII, p. 120 and pl. VI, no. 2; *CGE*, p. 285 and pl. XV, no. 14. There is an Archer type gold coin of Prakāśāditya (king as an archer : seated goddess) in the State Museum, Lucknow. Its accession no. is 11626 (pl. X, no. 5).

On the basis of epigraphic and numismatic data (including the evidence of the percentage of gold content of coins) and some other pieces of information the chronological positions of the successors of Skandagupta should be as follows.

(1) Purugupta (?) (1 or 1A), (no. 2) Kumāragupta II (=Kumāragupta of the Sārnath inscription of the year 154=A.D. 373-74), (3) Budhagupta (son of Pūrugupta) (157-175 or 180=A. D. 476/77—494/95 or 499/500), (4^{a}) (?) Chandragupta III (issuer of the Archer type gold coins struck apparently on the *suvarṇa* standard), (4b) (?) Samudragupta II (issuer of the Archer type struck on the *suvarṇa* standard), (4c) (?) Vainyagupta (son of Purugupta ?) (189=A.D. 507-08), (5) Bhānugupta (191=A.D. 510-511) [=Bhānugupta (?)] Prakāśāditya of the Archer type and Horseman-cum-lion-slayer type gold coins), (6) Narasiṁhagupta (son of Purugupta) (=Nāra Bālāditya of gold coins and Bālāditya, the victor of Mihirakula, referred to by Hsüan-tsang), (7) Kumāragupta III (son of Narasiṁhagupta), and (8) Vishṇugupta (son of Kumāragupta III) (=Vishṇugupta (?) of the Dāmodarpur inscription of the year 224=A-D. 543-44).

58. See chapter I, n. 19; *CGE*, pp. 241-242.

59. *JNSI*, 1952, vol. XIV, p. 120; B. P. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 425; *CGE*, pp. 241-242. See also chapter I, nn. 19 and 20.

60. *CGE*, pp. 240 and 244f.

61. *CGD*, pl. 1f, especially pl 1, Vf.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*, pl. VI, no. 15; pl. IX, no. 10; pl. X, no. 9; pl. XIV, no. 2; pl. XIX, no. 13; etc,

64. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, no. 10; pl. IX, no. 14; pl. XIII, no. 8; etc.
65. *Ibid.*, pl. VI, no. 11; pl. XV, no. 15.
66. *SIS*, pp. 133f.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 124f.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.
69. *CGD*, pl. II, no. 14; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. XLVII, no. 177. The deity on the reverse of the Tiger-slayer type coins of Samudragupta is universally recognised as Gaṅgā. On some coins the female figure may be seen as riding on a *makara*, which identifies her as Gaṅgā (*CGGCBH*, pl. VI, no. 9). But on some other pieces the deity on the reverse stands on a tortoise, which identifies her as Yamunā (*CGD*, pl. II, no. 14). This observation finds support if one notices the difference between the latter's mount and the *makara* on the reverse of the Rhinoceros-slayer type coins of Kumāragupta I (*CGGCBH*, pl. XXX, no. 7). See also the mounts of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the door jambs from Buxar (pl. IV, nos. 5 and 7).
70. *CGE*, pl. XIII, no. 5. There is notable similarity between the appearances of Garuḍa on the copper coins of Chandragupta II and on royal seals of the Guptas (*CGD*, pl. XI, nos. 1-4; *CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, pl. XLV). However, Garuḍa on silver and lead coins is somewhat stylised (*CGD*, pl. X, no. 15; *Numismatic Digest*, 1981, vol. V, pp. 24-26) (pl. II, no. 13; pl. V, no. 8; pl. X, nos. 6-9).
71. J. G. Williams, *The Art of Gupta India, Empire and Province*, p. 25 and fig. 11.
72. B. N. Mukherjee, *Decipherment of the Shell Script*, (*Saṁpupa Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U. P.*, 1983, no 31, pp. 22 and 34). J. G. Williams thinks that the Khairigarh image is more "geometrical in contour" than the animal on the Aśvamedha type coins of Samudragupta (*op. cit.*, p. 25). For our observations see the *Saṁpupa*, 1983, no. 31, p. 33-34.
73. *DHI*, pl. XVI, no. 2.
74. *CGD*, pl. III, no. 10; pl. XII, no. 6; etc.; *KCLFR*, p. 18 and pl. XIX, nos. 1, 7, etc.
75. *CGD*, pl. X, no. 14f; pl. XVI, no. 1f; pl. XXI, no. 1f.
76. *Ibid.*, pl. XI, no. 1f.
77. *CGE*, pp. 15f; *KCLFR*, pp. 16f; pl. V, no. 1f; pl. VI, no. 1f; pl. VII, no. 1f; pl. XXIII, nos. 14 and 17; etc.
78. *CGE*, pl. IX, no. 9; *NL*, pl. IX, nos. 32 and 36.
79. *DHI*, p. 400; *JAS*, 1955, vol. XXI, Letters, no. 2, p. 95; W. E. Begley, *Wheel: The Iconography of Sudarśana-Chakra*, pp. 440f. Vishṇu is known as Chakreśvara and Chakrasvāmin, 'lord of the disc'. In the *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā*, the *chakra*, the most effective weapon of Vishṇu, is identified with Vishṇu (*Chakrarūpi svayaṁ Hariḥ*,

41, 37). The male figure, with a wheel behind him, appears as an independent figure on the capital of the Eran stone pillar carrying an inscription of the time of Budhagupta (G. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, fig. 23) (pl. IV, no. 3).

79a. R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, pl. I, no. 17; *CGD*, pl. XX, no. 26; *JNSI*, 1966, vol. XXVII, pp. 36-40.

80. *CGE*, pl. VI, no. 1f; pl. XII, no. 1f.

81. *CGE*, pl. V, no. 8. For discussions on the representations of Lakshmī on Indian coins see *DHI*, p. 134; B. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icons—A Study of Myths and Legends in Indian Numismatic Art*, pp. 198f; O. P. Singh, *Religion and Iconography of Early Indian Coins*, pp. 18f; etc.

82. *Raghuvaṁśa*, V, 5.

83. *CGE*, p. 205. Kārttikeya is shown as offering some objects by his right hand held in *varada* pose (*CGD*, pl. XV, no. 14). Does this feature indicate that the god is shown as bestowing some boon or favour on Kumāra (gupta Mahendrāditya) ? (In this connection see also *DHI*, p. 144; *JNSI*, 1977, vol. XXXIX, pp. 124f).

84. *CGE*, p. 189.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

86. *Ibid.*, pl. VII, nos. 11-15; pl. XI, nos. 1-13.

86a. *Ibid.*, pp. 123 and 178.

87. *JNSI*, 1979, vol. XLI, pp. 51f.

88. *Agni Purāṇa*, XLIX, 9.

89. *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* quoted in T. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 49; *DHI*, p. 425. M. Th. de Mallmann, *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de l'Agni Purāṇa*, p. 37.

90. *CGE*, p. 250; pl. XIV, no. 15. It must be admitted that we are also not sure whether the authors of the texts concerned included the Śakas and the Hūṇas in the horde of the Mlechchhas. The term *Mlechchha* had different connotations in different ages.

91. *CGE*, pl. XIV, nos. 1-3.

92. *Ibid*, p. 211.

93. *CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, p. 315.

94. *CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, p. 256. It may be noted that among the Vaishṇava iconic forms described in the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* there is one assumed by Pradyumna when he became free from all worldly desire (III, 78, 1; *EHI*, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 247).

95. See also J. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

96. S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 293.

97. B. N. Mukherjee, "Numismatic Art", *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, p. 1419.

97a. *KCLFR*, pp. 18 and 81.

98. *CGE*, pl. I, no. 11 ; pl. IX, no. 6 ; pl. XIV, no. 41 ; etc.

99. *CGD*, pl. XV, no. 8.

100. See also *JNSI*, 1982, vol. XLIV, pp. 148-150.

100a. The bull on silver pieces of Skandagupta may be taken to represent the mount or theriomorphic form of Śiva. (In this connection see S. S. Singh, *Early Coins of North India—An Iconographic Study*, p. 178). The trident on some silver pieces may be recognised as his attribute. But these allusions to Śaivisim on the Gupta coins may have been due to Śiva's association with Śakti (Durgā) and the cult of Power (to which his affiliation may be indicated by his Rudra aspect).

100b. The Purāṇas refer to the territory of the Guptas situated along the Ganges (F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 53). The inclusion of the Kālindī or Yamunā in the Gupta empire is indicated by the Eran inscription of Budhagupta (*CII*, vol. III, *IEGKS*, p. 89).

101. *CGE*, pl. XIV, nos. 12-14. For a hypothesis about representation of Rājyalakshmī in sculptural art, see A. L. Srivastava, "A Kauśāmbī Terracotta Plaque Representing Rājyalakshmī", *Journal of the Gangānāth Jha Kendriya Sanskrita Vidyāpeetha*, 1980, p. 195. See also A. L. Srivastava's article ("The Conception of Rājyalakshmī in Indian Art"), in the *K. K. Handiquo Felicitation Volume*.

102. *CGE*, pl. XII, nos. 11-12.

103. *Ibid.*, pl. II, no. 10f ; pl. XIV, no. 8f ; *CII*, vol. III, *IEGK*, pl. XLVI.

104. *CGE*, pl. XVIII, no. 14.

105. *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, no. 20.

106. See above n. 100a.

107. Prakāśāditya, who could have been the same as Bhānugupta and a successor of Skandagupta, struck also the Horseman-cum-Lion-slayer type coins.

108. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, pp. 1387-88 ; *PSAC*, p. 31.

109. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, pp. 1385f.

110. It is not maintained that all coins of the early Gupta age are objects of art. In fact, several coins of Chandragupta II bear a rather crude representation of the seated goddess (*CGD*, pl. VI, no. 18). Moreover, it is to be noted that coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I with comparatively broader flan are more often of better quality than those of comparatively shorter flan issued by them. The reason might have been due to defects in preparation of dies and/or blanks. We do not know whether there was any regional factor in determining the measurement of the flan of coins of any particular denomination.

111. *CGGCBH*, pl. XXXII, nos. 6 and 8.

112. *Ibid.*, no. 6 ; pl. XXXII, nos. 5, 6 and 8.

III

ART IN POST-GUPTA COINAGES

A

The lingering of the Gupta idiom is discernible in some Post-Gupta coinages. Lakshmī seated on a lotus on the reverse of a class of gold coins of Samāchāradeva of Vaṅga (?) (sixth century A.D.) reminds us of the appearance of this deity on the Gupta coins. The same may be said of the obverse type carrying the representation of the king as an archer—a type coined by the Imperial Guptas till the end of their rule. Here, however, the die-cutters employed by Samāchāradeva show some originality by replacing the Garuḍa standard on the obverse by a bull standard[1] (pl. XI, no. 1). The creative power of the relevant artists is more manifest in another class of Samāchāradeva's specie in gold. The obverse displays the well formed figure of the king seated on a couch and being attended by two females. All of these apparently static figures betray a sense of lithy movement. This feature is also discernible in the figure of a female on the reverse. She is standing to front in a *dvibhaṅga* pose with her head turned to her right. Her left hand rests on her hip, while the half-raised right one holds the stalk of a lotus. The facing of different limbs of the body in different directions impart to the figure a sense of movement. The figure itself has a soft and sensuous modelling of the body. The appearance of a gander (*haṁsa*) by the side of the figure may identify her as Sarasvatī[2] (pl. XI, no. 2).

The dancing bull carrying a seated figure of Śiva on one side of coins of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa (late sixth century and the first half of the seventh century A.D. or at least the latter period) has a graceful as well as strong figure. The volume of the body is indicated by its flowing contour[3] (pl. XI, no. 3). In comparison to this the treatment of the figure of seated Lakshmī (with two elephants consecrating her) on the other side of these coins is somewhat angular[4] (pl. XI, no. 3). The reverse device (Gaja-lakshmī) is a well-known motif in Indian religious art.[4a]

The gliding linearism and soft modelling of the body, two characteristics of Gupta idiom, is absent from the majority of the figures on a class of debased gold coins displaying an archer and a four-or six-or eight-handed goddess. These coins are datable to the seventh-eighth century A.D. and (at least partly) attributable to Samatata (including Comilla and Noakhali district of Bangaladesh).[5]

The figure of a couchant bull is gracefully treated on at least some pieces of the first series of coins of Harikela (c. 7th century A.D.) and Paṭṭikedā (c. 8th century A.D.)[6] (pl. XI, no. 4). However, due to defect in die-cutting and minting, the same animal often looks grotesque on a great number of pieces of the second series of Harikela coinage and on the coins of some associated series (9th-12th or 13th century A.D.)[7] (pl. XI, no. 5).

Like the "Archer" type gold coins of the Guptas, the "Peacock" type silver pieces made an impact on several series of Post-Gupta coinages[8] including those of the Hūṇas and the Maukharis and the family of Pushpabhūti.[8a]. The appearance of the fan-tailed peacock is on some, but certainly not on the majority, of the pieces of these series is as lively as on a large number of the relevant Gupta coins[9] (pl. XI, nos. 6-7; pl. VI, no. 14). Several of these coins, indicating the issuer's name or title as Śilāditya, have been attributed to Harshavardhana of the family of Pushpabhūti.[9a] To him is also attributed a gold coin bearing the name of Harshadeva and displaying Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a bull (nandī)[10] (pl. XI, no. 8). Here the composition (showing Pārvatī as sitting on the left of Śiva) has some resemblance to that of several representations of Śiva and Pārvatī in sculptural art. But the style of execution is rather crude and the treatment of the figures is flat and angular.

B

The Imperial Gupta coinage felt the impact of the Kushāṇa devices like "the king sacrificing at an altar" and "an enthroned goddess (Ardokhsho)" (see Chapter II). These types also indirectly influenced the coinage of another part of the subcontinent, viz. Kāśmīra. The types of the gold, silver, billon and copper coins of Kāśmīra, displaying "the king at altar" and "a seated goddess", can indeed be traced through the specie of the group of Kidāra (or Kidarites) bearing similar devices[11] to the coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas (and their successors in the land of five rivers) showing a royal figure at altar on one side and the enthroned Ardokhsho on the other.[12] Extremely crude and degenerate copies of these devices in very high relief appear on the coins of the Kārkoṭa dynasty (c. A.D. 627-855/56).[13] Somewhat better executed figure of a seated goddess can be noticed in a coin-type of Śrī-Pratāpa (=Pratāpāditya I or Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II ?) (pl. XII, no. 1). Here the enthroned female has a sensuous and facile contour. She holds the stalk of a lotus and has her feet on a lotus. These features may betray influence of the Gupta coinage.[14] Such influence is discernible also in another coin device of early Kāśmīra (viz. goddess on lion)[14a] (pl. XII, no. 2).

On the coins of the Utpalas (up to A.D. 939) and the dynasties of Yaśaskara and Parvagupta (A.D. 939-1003) much improved versions of the devices are shown in somewhat normal relief.[15] Sometimes, however, stress is given only on the outlines of the draped figures and comparatively low areas are left untraced. Moreover, the figures on both sides wear new types of loose upper and lower garments. The goddess wears big ear-rings and often a top hat, though the nimbus behind her head continues to appear (sometimes in a modified form, looking almost like a trifoil arch). The garments and ornaments probably betray local influence (pl. XII, nos. 3 and 4).

The figures on the coins of the Utpala family, the dynasties of Yaśaskara and Parvagupta and the first Lohara dynasty (A.D. 1003-1101)[16] and the second Lohara dynasty[17] (A.D. 1101-1172) are more or less well built. Their faces are often squarish in shape. But on a large number of issues of both the Lohara families the face of the deity is shown unusually long, almost like that of a horse or boar (pl. XII, nos. 5-8). On some billon pieces of Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-35) of the second Lohara dynasty the face looks like that of an elephant (pl. XII, no. 9). We do not know whether these were die-cutters' attempts to display the figures of Yakshiṇī Aśvamukhī or Vārāhi and Ganesāṇī.

Harsha (A.D. 1099-1101) of the first Lohara dynasty struck, in addition to billon and copper, silver and gold coins. The goddess on billon and copper coins bear the usual "seated goddess" and "standing king" devices.[18] But he is also known to have struck coins with other types. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VII, 927), he copied a coin-type of Karṇāṭa.[19] This coin-type can be recognised as that representing an ornamented elephant[20] (pl. XII, nos. 10-11a). The elephant appearing in the prototype is well-executed. It seems to be full of strength and so has an elephant-like quality (pl. XII, no. 11). Though the animal is not that well executed on Harsha's coins (elephant : legend) (pl. XII, no. 12), known in gold, silver (and billon ?), the artistic quality of the representation is not of a mean order. More interesting are Harsha's gold coins showing a seated goddess and a haṁsa (gander) (pl. XIII, no. 1) or a seated goddess and a horseman (pl. XIII, no. 2). The goddess on the coins of the first group sits on a lotus in a half cross-legged fashion. Her left leg is more stretched out than the right leg. She wears girdle, earrings, etc. She and also the goddess on coins of the second group have four hands. A veil appears on the head of the latter, and perhaps also of the former. These representations apparently betray the knowledge of the die-cutters in question of the "seated goddess" coin device of central India to which we shall presently refer. Similarly the horseman type can be connected with the same device of the Shāhi coinage, which we shall discuss shortly after.

The figures of the godess as shown on these coins are well built and betray some sense of plasticity. The faces are smiling and are squarish in shape. These features characterise the sculptural art of mediaeval Kāśmīra, which shows impact of tradition of the art of Gandhāra and of the Gupta idiom. From these points of view these representations of the goddess may be compared with the famous four faced Vishṇu of Kashmir, which was for sometime in the Nasli and Alico Heeramaneck collection, USA[20a] (pl. XIV).

C

Before discussing further on the seated goddess device, we have to judge the quality of several other coin series. The artistic merit of the coins of the Hūṇas in the Indian subcontinent is not considered to be of a high order. Their coin-devices are known to have been based mostly on types earlier used by other ruling families.[21] Nevertheless, we have remarkable representations of the Hūṇa rulers on their "bust : altar" coins, which were typologically based on Sasanian coinage. These representations on coins of the rulers like Lakhāna (pl. XV, no. 3), Khiṅgila (pl. XV. no. 4), Trīloka (pl. XV, no. 5), Baysāra (pl. XV, no. 6) and Pūrvvāditya (pl. XV, no. 7) are not copies of Sasanian bust, but actual portraits of the rulers concerned betraying personal features.[22] The same may be said also of the busts on the coins of Toramāṇa (bust : solar symbol) and Mihirakula (bust : humped bull).[23] The auspicious symbols, devices and cognizances (like wheel, conch, lotus, trident, bust, dynastic marks, etc.) in front of the bust on Hūṇa coins and the appearance of a standing deity in front of the royal bust on a variety of Pūrvvāditya's "bust : fire altar" coins,[24] add a novel iconic feature to the coinage concerned.

The winged Sasanian type head dress, worn by the bust of a male on a class of coins, is surmounted by the head of a buffalo or of an ox. The coins bear the legend *N(a)pki M(a)lka* or *N(a)śki M(a)lka*[24a] (pl. XV, nos. 8-10). Interestingly enough, this type of headgear answers to the Chinese claim that the ruler of Ki-pin used to wear a crown with the head of an ox.[24b] Not only the portraits on the relevant coins (representing one or more than one ruler) are fairly well-executed, but also the head of the ox in many cases is life-like.

An interesting icon appears on the reverse of a class of silver coins of the family of Shahi Tigin, Vakhu (or Vasu) deva and Vahi Tigin. The device, appearing on the coins of the last two rulers, consists of a fairly well-drawn bust of a male with flames issuing out of his head[25] (pl. XV, nos. 11 and 12). A. Cunningham identified the icon as that of the Sun god of Multan, referred to by Arab historians and geographers.[26] On the other hand, R. B. Whitehead took the icon as representing an Iranian fire deity.[27] In fact, this deity is noticeable also on some coins of the Sasanian ruler Khusro II (A.D. 591-628)[28] (pl. XV, no. 13). It has been suggested that the deity is "a city goddess", personifying the glory of Khurasan.[29]

Imitations of "bust : fire altar with attendants" coins of the Sasanian family (most probably of Peroz, A.D. 457/59-484) developed into a regular Indo-Sasanian series from about A.D. 500. The series became current in different periods in different areas including parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Western Deccan, Malwa, U. P. and Bihar.[30] The artistic merit of the relevant coins which may have been imitated by private moneyers as well as official mint-masters, is generally poor. It is, however, interesting to note that members of the ruling dynasties of these regions occasionally made use of the obverse device and/or reverse device to strike coins in their names.[31]

D

The influence of the reverse device (fire altar with attendants) of the above noted series is noticeable on one side of a series of coins (struck mainly in base silver, but also in billon and copper), which also bears a stylised or corrupt version of the fire altar and two attendants and the legend *Śrimadādivarāha(ḥ)*.[32] The legend is taken to refer to the Imperial Pratīhāra king Bhoja (c. A.D. 836—885 or 8 0). Though a large number of pieces belonging to this class of specie may be considered as imitations, at least some of the most well produced silver coins should be accepted as products of the mint of Bhoja (pl. XVI, nos. 1-2). On one side of such pieces (other than the side mentioned above) appears a boar with such attributes which distinguish the figure as the boar incarnation of Vishṇu. The Varāha, wearing *vanamālā*, stands astride to right (i.e. to proper left). His right hand is on the right hip and the left hand is half-raised, with the elbow turned upward and palm resting on the half-raised left thigh or knee. The left foot rests on a lotus. A wheel, a mace and a few indeterminate objects can be noticed on these pieces. Two circular objects one in front of the snout and the other near the left hand, may stand for *dharitri* (the earth), known to have been held by the snout or by the left arm (and hand) or partly by the snout and partly by the left arm (and hand) in the sculptural representations of the Varāha. In fact, the scheme of representation of the Varāha closely corresponds to that of the same incarnation in plastic art of the Gupta age as well as of the early mediaeval period (pl. XVI, no. 3). The strength and vigour exuded by the figure of the Varāha on the coins concerned betray the die-engravers' knowledge of the dynamic representation of the same incarnation in the sculptural art of the early mediaeval age, examples of which have been found at various sites (including Mahalla Lohana in the Kanauj area of the Farrukhabad district and Phaphamau in the Allahabad district). Like the sculptors, the die-cutters boldly and effectively translated into a form of plastic art the well-known legend about the rescue of the earth by the Varāha.

A very interesting gold coin[33] in the State Museum, Lucknow, shows on the obverse the Varāha in the same manner as described above but also with some additional details (pl. XVI, no. 4). For an example, the deity is shown here as being worshipped by Ādiśesha. Moreover, he is four-handed with his upper right clasping a disc, the lower right hand resting on the hip and the lower (or upper) left arm and hand holding a female figure identifiable as *dharitrī* (the earth). On the reverse a calf is sucking the udder of a cow and being licked by the latter. Above the cow is the legend *(Srī) (Ā*) di Varāha.*[34]

The robust vitality exuded by the object on the obverse is beautifully harmonised with the tenderness oozing out of the reverse device. The Varāha on the gold and well produced silver coins and the animals on the gold coin are well-formed. They indicate the artists' ability to impart to the figures on flat flans a sense of volume and lithy movement. These coins are indeed among the best objects of numismatic art of early mediaeval age and are testimonies to the relationship between numismatic and sculptural art of the period concerned.[35]

E

The Brāhmanical Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Panjab minted certain series of coins, bearing interesting devices. For examples, we can refer to (i) "fan-tailed peacock" and "lion", (ii) "elephant" and "lion" and (iii) "lion" and "gander" (*haṁsa*) appearing on copper pieces and (iv) "humped bull" and "horseman" on coins struck in silver, base silver, copper and billon.[36] All these devices may be typologically related to earlier coin-types. But presentations of a few of them on the Shāhi coins are note-worthy. The lion on the reverse of "elephant : lion" coins of Vakkadeva, Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva stands to left with its front leg raised and tongue thrusting out of its mouth. This form of representation of the king of the beasts can be noticed also in architectural sculptures of mediaeval north India and appears to be somewhat conventional or conceptual.

More interesting, from the point of view of numismatic art, are the coins bearing a humped bull and a hoseman, first minted by Spalapatideva (in the sixties of the ninth century A.D.). The obverse of the well-executed silver coins of Spalapatideva displays a recumbent bull to left (partly draped with an ornamental cloth and stamped with the mark of a trident on its hind portion) and the legend *Spalapatideva*. On the reverse appears a male figure, wearing boots, trousers and a long coat and a headgear (betraying Sasanian influence ?) and riding on a prancing caparisoned horse. He holds a long spear in his right hand (fitted at the top with a banner ?). On some pieces traces of a legend can be noticed in the margin,[37] (pl. XVII, nos. 1-4).

All the figures on good silver pieces of Spalapatideva are very realistically treated. Their dimensional effect is remarkable. The bull appears to be a strong one and the prancing horse seems to be full of life and movement.[38]

The obverse device can be typologically traced to Indo-Sasanian or Hūṇa coinage (or even to the Scytho-Parthian and Indo-Greek pieces). Bull is known to have appeared on *inter alia* early coins of the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent. On the other hand, the types of Spalapatideva were adopted not only by his successors but also by several early mediaeval dynastics (including those of the Gāhaḍavālas, Chāhamānas of different localities, Tomaras of Delhi (?), Pratihāras of Gwalior and Yajvapālas or Jājapellas of Narwar)[38a] (pl. XVII, nos. 13-14) and even by some Muslim conquerors (including Mu'izzud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām)[39] (pl. XVII, no. 15).

On several base silver, billon and copper pieces bearing the name of Spalapatideva and on a large number of coins of his successors and other rulers, who adopted the above types, an emphasis on delineating only the outlines of the figures in high relief is noticeable[40] (pl. XVII, nos. 5-12). This technique of execution was probably necessitated due to use of poor and alloyed metal and of dies deeply sunk in the relevant places only.[40a]

Bhīmadeva of the Shāhi family (whose reign ended in c. A.D. 957) minted gold as well as silver and copper. A gold piece, published by A. Ghose, bears on the obverse a (male) figure standing near a male figure seated on a throne in a half cross-legged fashion (with the soles of the feet touching or about to touch each other). The standing figure appears to receive something from the right hand of the sitting figure, whose left hand appears to hold a noose. A trident is noticeable in the background between the two figures. The presence of noose and trident may identify the seated figure as Śiva (and not as the king as is generally supposed by scholars). He seems to bestow something on the standing figure. In that case the latter can well be identified with Bhīmadeva (and so need not be considered, as has been done by some scholars, as a female attendant). The reverse displays a male figure (probably the king) seated in *arddhaparyaṅkāsana* with the left hand resting on the left thigh and the right hand half-raised. On the left of the male figure appears a female figure (Lakshmī) seated cross-legged on a lotus and holding the stalk of a lotus in the left hand[41] (pl. XVII, no. 17).

Thematically the obverse and reverse devices can be compared with certain earlier types ("Huvishka and Nanā" type of Huvishka, "Chakravikrama" type of Chandragupta, "King and Lakshmī" type of Skandagupta, etc.) (pl. II, nos. 16-17; pl. IX, no. 2). The figures on both sides of the coin concerned have sharp and incisive outlines, flattened and elongated texture, and they betray somewhat petrified treatment of their plastic content. The same characteristics are noticeable in contemporary sculpture of north-western sector of the Indian subcontinent[42] (pl. XVII, no. 18). Such similarities betray stylistic relationship between numismatic and sculptural art.

F

Like the horseman type of the Shāhis another coin-device became very popular in the early mediaeval age. We are referring to a four armed seated goddess, who appears, though with varying details, on coins struck by the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala, the Paramāras of Mālava, the Gāhaḍavālas of Benaras and Kanauj, the Chandellas of Jejākābhukti, the Chāhamāṇas of Delhi and Ajmer, Tomaras of Delhi (?), Chaulukyas of Gujarat (?), Kachchhapghātas of Gwalior (?), Yadus of Bayana and others, including the Muslim conqueror Muhammad bin Sām[43] (pl. XLVII, no. 2).

The 'four-armed seated female" device appears on coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, (c. A.D. 1019-1042), the Kalachuri ruler of Ḍāhala (the country around Jabalpur in M. P.) (pl. XVIII, no. 1; pl. XIX, nos. 1-4; pl. XXII, no. 1; pl. XXIII, no. 1). This 'seated female' can be noticed on gold, debased gold, silver, debased silver and copper coins bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva. Great divergence in the style of delineating the deity on different varieties of coins of supposedly the same metal (like gold and debased gold intended to be passed as gold) and corresponding deterioration in weight may debar us from accepting all these pieces as products of official mints of a single reign.[44] Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the series of coins, bearing exclusively Gāṅgeyadeva's name, must have been started during his period of rule. If the gradual deterioration in metal content, weight and style is considered an index to chronological sequence of the whole series of coins, the good and fairly good pieces from these points of view may be assigned to the age of Gāṅgeyadeva (pl. XIX, nos. 1-4). Some of these well executed coins bear stylistically excellent representation of a four-armed deity.

Visual art of early mediaeval India was fairly familiar with the subjects dealing with four-armed (or two-armed or eight-armed) female figures seated on a lotus cross legged (or with one leg placed slightly in front of the other or with the feet touching each other). Deities in similar postures appear in sculpture (pl. XXI, no. 1) and painting and also on a number of seals.[45] In fact, on the imperial seal of Gāṅgeyadeva's son and successor Karṇa or Lakshmī-Karṇa we can see a four-armed female goddess, "sitting with her legs crossed". "Two elephants are represented, one on each side of her with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandī, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket". Between the deity and the bull is written "*Śrīmad-Karṇa-devaḥ*"[46] (pl. XIX, no. 5). The appearance of *Gaja-lakshmī*, a popular theme of Indian sculpture from an early age, with bull, the mount of the God Śiva, probably alludes to a concept of a female divinity combining in herself the traits of the goddess of fortune and of Ambā or Pārvatī, the consort of that male deity. Fusion of such concepts is well attested in Indian iconography.[47] Here, however, the arrangement of the devices may also have an allusion to Paramamāheśvara Lakshmīkarṇa's devotion to Śaivism and also to his name containing a reference to Lakshmī or the goddess of wealth.

There are instances from early and early mediaeval India of the use of identical or similar devices for coins and seals.[48] So in choosing his coin-device Gāṅgeyadeva, who might have been a Śaiva and was apparently not averse to the deity of fortune,[49] could have been influenced by the female deity on his royal seal, if he had a seal similar to that of his son. Or at least, he could have selected a popular theme in contemporary art.

Without denying the feasibility of this sort of impact on Gāṅgeyadeva, we cannot help comparing the similarity in style and composition between the "seated deity" on his coins and the goddess in a similar attitude on a great number of coins of the Imperial Guptas and their imitations[50] (pl. XVIII, nos. 1-4). This observation can be substantiated with the help of a critical study of the style of representing the goddess on well executed coins of Gāṅgeyadeva.

The "front faced seated female" figure on some of Gāṅgeyadeva's gold coins is placed within a border of dots. She has a nimbus behind her head which is also bordered by dots. Her left leg is placed in front of the right. The two upper hands hold stalks of lotuses, and the two lower ones rest on her lap or thighs. She wears a necklace, ear rings, bangles, [girdles (?) and anklets (?)] (pl. XVIII, no. 1). On some pieces we notice a trefoiled arch (indicating the upper part of a shrine ?) above the halo of the goddess (pl. XIX, nos. 1 and 1a). No doubt, the comparable female figure on the Gupta coins and their imitations mentioned above, has two hands, one of which holds a fillet (and the other a lotus), and sits on a lotus which is not clearly visible on Gāṅgeyadeva's coins. Nevertheless, the general scheme of representation of the seated female is, on the whole, same on all these coins. The female figure on the gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, with her well proportioned limbs, narrow waist, deep navel, developed, but not voluptuous breasts, nearly half-closing eyes, serenely smiling lips and graceful appearance, breaths the air of the rich legacy of the Gupta idiom.[51] On stylistic considerations the female on Gāṅgeyadeva's coins can better be compared with that on the specie of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta (pl. XVIII, nos. 2-4) than with that on the pieces of Vainyagupta, Prakāśāditya, Vishṇugupta, Śaśāṅka, etc.[52] (pl. IX, nos. 12 and 16; pl. X, no. 5; pl. XI, no. 3). The treatment of the breasts and abdomen of the female figure on Gāṅgeyadeva's coins in question bears strong affinity to that of the deity on lotus on several pieces minted by Kumāragupta I[53] (compare pl. XVIII, no. 1 with pl. XVIII, no. 3). It appears that some of the artists and die-cutters employed by Gāṅgeyadeva assimilated the style and technique of the master artists and die-cutters of the early Gupta age and possessed better skill than those who served the later Guptas and their successors. Here the artists were only reflecting the trends of mediaeval art in the Kalachuri or Haihaya territory which initially showed awareness of the Gupta classical idiom.[54] A typical example is supplied by a panel (found in Central India) showing Gaṅgā and others, which was for some time included in the Nasli and Alic Heeramaneck collection in USA[55] (pl. XXI, no. 1). The pose, elegance of modelling and notion of lithe movement of the figure of Gaṅgā are comparable with those of a representation of the same goddess unearthed at Besnagar (pl. IV, no. 2) or of a Nāginī found at Maniyār maṭha (Rajgir), both datable to the Gupta age.[56]

It is not suggested that the gold coins of the early Imperial Guptas had been in regular circulation in the Haihaya territory in so late a period as that of Gāṅgeyadeva so that his mint-masters could have easily imitated the squatting female figure appearing on them. In fact, the difference in the details of the figures of the female deities concerned are, as indicated above, glaring enough to rule out the possibility of slavish imitation of a Gupta coin-type by Gāṅgeyadeva's mint-masters or artists. They followed the Gupta idiom, which still inspired the plastic art of their zone and period. And in doing so they produced a variety of gold coins bearing a female figure rich in gracefulness, plasticity and volume.

However, the same standard of artistic skill and excellence (pl. XVIII, no. 1; pl. XIX, no. 1; pl. XXIII, no. 1) is not betrayed by all gold coins bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva. On these and several silver as well as copper coins the female, with her voluptuous breasts and bulging belly with a deep navel, seems to be flabby. This sensuous treatment leads to a loss of the sublime beauty witnessed on the above noted coins. However, the female figure still betrays artists' sense of plasticity and volume. Details of the smiling face are discernible on some of these pieces (pl. XXIII, nos. 2-3).

A new feature can, however, be noticed on several coins of this group. The female is shown as having a veil on the head which hangs down the shoulders and upper arms. Stylistically this seems to have developed from the continuation of the two ends of the visible portion of the line forming the nimbus of the female on the earlier mentioned coins. Another interesting feature is the change of the relative position of the legs of the deity. On some of these coins the right leg is placed slightly in front of the left. Moreover, on all of these pieces the whole of the intended legend *Śrīmad=Gāṅgeya-devaḥ* and the sign of termination, which appear on the reverse within a border of dots, are not as beautifully or artistically written as on the coins of the first variety (compare pl. XXII, no. 1 with pl. XXII, nos. 2-8). Again, the third line (consisting of the letters *va* and *ḥ* and the sign of termination) is not noticeable on some of the pieces belonging to the second variety (pl. XXII, nos. 3-5).

It is difficult to believe that the artist or artists, who engraved the dies for the coins of the first group, were responsible for the production of the dies for the coins of the second group, which are slightly inferior in style. Nevertheless, they are also works of fairly high standard and are substantially related to the idiom of art followed by the first group. Moreover, there is hardly any significant difference between the average gold contents of the two groups of specie. Hence they could have been produced by artists of lesser merit in the same age to which the first group of coins can be dated. It cannot be determined whether artists responsible for the two groups of coins belonged to two different zones of Gāṅgeyadeva's dominions.

On a group of coins of smaller denomination the seated figure of the goddess betray artists' sense of plasticity and modelling in a degree greater or at least no less than those indicated by the figure of the goddess on the coins of second group (pl. XXVI, nos. 17-19; pl. XXVII, nos. 17-19; pl. XIX, nos. 2-4). The content of gold in these pieces is also high. The percentages of gold in three coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (nos. 2123, 2124 and 2125) are 91.39, 96.54 and 94.93 respectively. These pieces may form a group called IA. These may be considered as products of Gāṅgeyadeva's mints. However, it should be noted that the legend on these pieces is intended to be inscribed in two lines. But it is often partly out of flan (pl. XIX, nos. 2-4).

Blunt treatment of physiognomical details, accentuation of the size of breasts and sometimes of navel, detaching upper arms from the body of the deity and a general tendency towards stylisation can be noticed on a group of specie bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva (pl. XXIII, nos. 9-12). Either the feet of the deity touch each other, or the right leg is placed in front of the left. The lower portion of the third line of the reverse inscription on these pieces is often out of flan (pl. XXII, nos. 9-12). These pieces cannot be convincingly attributed, on stylistic grounds, to the age of the coins of the first group or even of the second group. The validity of this observation is not lost even after admitting that the debased metal used for many of such pieces was not conducive to the imprint of good impression on blanks. The pieces concerned may, therefore, be taken either as products of the (less efficient ?) mints of the immediate successor or successors of Gāṅgeyadeva and/or as unofficial imitations done immediately or shortly after his death.

Somewhat crude treatment of the features, discernible on the coins of the third group, can be noticed also on a group of specie carrying the name of Gāṅgeyadeva. While many coins of this group are made of debased gold, several are nearly silver with a tinge of gold (pl. XXIII, nos. 13-19; pl. XXIII, nos. 13-19; pl. XXIV, nos. 1-6; pl. XXV, nos. 1-6). The specific gravity of the Indian Museum coin no. 45 (ASB) is 11.25, while that of the Indian Museum coin no. 6 is 11.05. They may be considered as forming the fourth group of the series in question.

On the next (fifth) group of coins, known in different denominations, the deity is shown cross-legged or having one leg (right or left) placed in front of the other (left or right). Only developed or higher portions of the body of the deity are delineated without clearly tracing its frame or undeveloped portions. As a result the body often has the appearance of an amalgam of disjointed limbs. Physiognomical details (particularly the features of the upper part of the face) are either crudely done or are blurred. There is a complete lack of artists' sense of plasticity (pl. XXIV, nos. 7-16; pl. XXV, nos. 7-16). These are the results of employing defective dies prepared by artists of small merit and also of using poor metal for the blanks. Two coins of the Indian Museum are almost silvery in appearance. The specific gravity of one of them (no. 7) (ASB) is 9.98 and of the other (no. 8) (ASB) is 10.22.

Some of the coins of this group are struck on blanks smaller in size than those generally used for minting coins apparently of the same denomination. A number of pieces are of thicker fabric than the rest.

Further stylistic degradation can be noticed on a very large number of coins belonging to the sixth group. On these the breasts and belly of the deity assume the shape of globes of approximately the same size. The lower portion of the abdomen is delineated by a semi-circular line,completely detached from the belly. Upper arms and sometimes legs are also detached from the body of the female figure. Either the feet of the goddess touch each other or her right leg is placed in front of the left. Not on all of these coins one can notice the full legend and border of dots on the obverse (pl. XXIV, nos. 17-19; pl. XXV, nos. 17-19; pl. XXVI, nos. 1-9; pl. XXVII, nos. 1-9).

Coins of this group are known to have been struck in silver mixed with a little amount of gold (or tinged with gold) (looking like pale gold), silver, base silver and copper. An Indian Museum coin (no. 4) (ASB), the metal of which looks like pale gold, has 9.92 specific gravity. The coins of this class are known in two (or three ?) denominations.

Grotesque representations of the goddess can be noticed on another (seventh) group of coins. Here the head looks like a triangle. The necklace and the two lower arms of the deity are so joined with one another as to form a nearly semi-circular arch. The lower part of the abdomen is indicated by a semi-circle detached from the belly. The latter and the two breasts, all of which are of the same size, look like three circular spots or globes enclosed within the compartment formed by the semi-circle and the arch which are often joined at two points. The deity is either cross-legged (?) or has the left leg placed in front of the right (pl. XXVII, nos. 10-16). The legend is often blurred and blundered on these coins (pl. XXVI, nos. 10-16).

Coins of this group are of at least two denominations. The metal of some of them appears like pale gold. They contain silver tinged or gilt with gold. Silver, base silver and copper coins of this group are also known.

It appears that coins of gold, debased gold, silver and copper bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva and struck mainly on two denominations, can be divided into several groups (at least seven or eight) on the ground of their fabric and style of execution. Great divergence in this regard debars us from attributing all these groups to one single reign, and from considering the pieces following degenerate style as products of official and organised mints.[56a]

As observed above, the third group of coins might have been minted by the immediate successor or successors of Gāṅgeyadevá or might have been struck by private moneyers. Since the coins of groups 1, IA and II, attributable to the mints of Gāṅgeyadeva, do not include silver, base silver and copper pieces bearing his name, these (i.e. the coins of such metals) were not issued by himself.

Perhaps with the rise of the power and prestige of the Kalachuris the coins bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva had become popular, and continued to be minted officially and were privately imitated whenever there was shortage of supply from official mints. These factors led to the gradual degradation of the currency, though these made it popular in the world of commerce, where coins mattered. Coins of groups VI and VII and perhaps also of group V are stylistically so debased and corrupt that it is difficult to accept them as products of official mints of a well-organised kingdom and not as imitations by ill-organised private moneyers. In fact, as these coins are very commonly found in different parts of north India, some of which were outside the dominions of Gāṅgeyadeva or even of his immediate successors, these probably formed an important medium of exchange in the world of trade and commerce of a large area of early mediaeval north India, and hence were susceptible to reckless imitations and consequent degration.[57]

Some gold (or rather debased gold) coins bear the legend *Śrimad=Udayadeva* on one side and the four-armed deity on the other.[57a] The Indian Museum piece of Udayadeva (no. 21641) is made of debased gold. Its specific gravity is 12.15 and percentage of gold content 49.2. The goddess on the reverse of Udayadeva's coins may be stylistically related to the third, or fourth, or rather fifth group of coins bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva, which include imitations. The treatment of breasts, abdomen and bulging belley on the coins concerned has affinity to the treatment of those limbs of the female figure on the third or fourth, or rather fifth group of the Gāṅgeyadeva specie. The goddess on the pieces concerned wears a necklace, bangles and anklets and has her right leg placed in front of the left (pl. XXXII, no. 1).

Udayadeva is correctly identified with the Paramāra chief Udayāditya of Mālava, whose known dates are 1137 V.S. (=A.D. 1080-81) and 1143 V.S. (=A.D. 1085-86) and also perhaps 1116 V.S. (=1059-60) and 951 S.E. (=A.D. 1059-60)[58] and who probably struck coins in Mālava after it had been freed from the trouble created by some rulers including Karṇa.[59] It is not certain whether these coins were struck imitating the third group of specie bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva to indicate the success of the Paramāras against the Kalachuri or to continue a coin-type which had already become popular in Mālava (Malawa). Whatever might have been the fact, the evidence of Udayadeva's coins shows that the coins bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva had begun to be imitated by about third or fourth quarter of the 11th century A.D., if not still earlier.

The figure of the deity is stylistically better represented on the gold and silver coins attributed to Naravarman, the successor of Udayadeva[59a] (pl. XLVII, no. 2). It can be stylistically compared with the seated female of the third group of specie bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva (pl. XXIII, no. 9). As it has been pointed out, the calligraphy of the legend on the coins of Naravarman resembles that of several Paramāra epigraphs.[59b]

The seated goddess appears on gold or rather debased gold and copper specie of the Gāhaḍavālas under Govindachandra (c. A.D. 1114-1154).[60] As he ruled later than Gāṅgeyadeva, the device on the coins of the latter or on those bearing the name of the latter might have served as prototypes for the same type struck by Govindachandra. Here each of the upper two arms holds an object (lotus ?). The lower two rest on her thighs. Her right foot is placed in front of the left. She is adorned with anklets, girdles, bangles, earrings, a spot on the forehead and a nimbus or rather a veil, flowing down the shoulders and hanging by the side of the lower arms (pl. XXIX, nos. 1-15). Sometimes a Śiva *liṅga* with *yoni-paṭṭa* is found stamped over the left side of the female figure (pl. XXIX, nos. 1-2; pl. XXXI, no. 10; pl. XLVII, no. 1). Stylistically the appearance of the *liṅga* was prompted by the peculiar way of delineating the lower left arm, the upper left forearm and hand (?), which simulates the outline of the figure of *liṅga* with *paṭṭa*.

The figure is massive and voluptuous. The treatment is somewhat angular. The outlines and contours of the body are often shown in reliefs higher than the remaining portion, which is not properly delineated. This feature often results in the loss of dimensional effect. All these characteristics give the female figure a rather rigid appearance.

The Gāhaḍavāla coins with the seated goddess device were struck probably, at least initially, for circulation in the territories once under the Chedis. It is interesting to note that not even half of the total content of the most of the known "gold" coins of Govindachandra belongs to that metal. For examples, we can refer to seven Indian Museum coins numbering 1 (ASB) (S.G. 11.94; P.G.C. 46.83%), 2 (ASB) (S.G. 11.39; P.G.C. 40.21%), 3 (ASB) (S.G. 11.2; P.G.C. 37.77%), 4 (S.G. 11.53; P.G.C. 41.96%), 5 (S.G. 11.68; P.G.C. 43.78%), 6 (S.G. 10.98; P.G.C. 34.98%) and 6a (S.G. 6.85). The evidence of these pieces indicates that when Govindachandra began to mint "gold", "gold" coinage in the Chedi territory had already become debased.

Stylistically the coins bearing the name of Govindachandra can be divided into five groups [group I–pl. XXIX, nos. 1-15; group II–pl. XXIX, nos. 16-19 and pl. XXXI, nos. 1-8; group III–pl. XXXI, nos. 9-12; group IV–pl. XXXI, no. 13-14; group V–pl. XXXI, nos. 15-18]. Representation of the seated goddess is progressively cruder on the coins of these groups. On the pieces of group VI the head of the deity looks like a triangle and the name of the king is sometimes wrongly spelt on the obverse (pl. XXX, nos. 17-18). The fact that many of the coins bearing the name of Govindachandra and attributable to groups III-V are found heavily debased and very crudely executed may indicate them as unofficial imitations probably to meet popular demands. It is not unlikely that coins assignable to group I and perhaps to group II, which display tolerably good representations of the deity, were products of organised Gāhaḍavāla mints during the reign of Govindachandra or during his reign and during the periods of his immediate successors. Then coins bearing the type and legend concerned began to be imitated.

Coins carrying the name of Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva served as prototypes also for coins of the Chandellas bearing a similar device. Four armed goddess appears on gold coins of Kīrtivarman (second half of the 11th century A.D.), Sallakshaṇavarman or Hallakshaṇavarman (c. A.D. 1100), Paramardi (c. A.D. 1166-1202) and Trailokyavarman (known dates vary from A.D. 1205 to 1240 or 1247), gold, silver and copper coins of Madanavarman (c. A.D. 1129-1163), gold and copper coins of Prithvīvarman (c. A.D. 1125) (?) and gold and copper coins of Vīravarman (c. A.D. 1247-1286).[61]

The goddess on these coins sits in a half cross-legged fashion. Her upper hands hold indistinct objects. The lower two rest on her thighs. Sometimes she is shown as seated on a lotus. The appearance of the goddess on these pieces can be iconographically and also stylistically compared with that of the goddess on coins of the Gāhaḍavālas, which like the Chandella specie,were influenced by the Kalachuri coinage.

Stylistically the coins of some of these rulers can be divided into a few groups. Among the coins of Kīrtivarman we may detect two groups (group I-pl. XXXIII, nos. 3-4; group II-pl. XXXIII, nos. 5-6), among those of Hallakshaṇavarman three groups (group I-pl. XXXIII, nos. 7-12; group II--pl. XXXIII, no. 13; group III-pl. XXXIII, no. 14) and among those of Madanavarman three groups (group I-pl. XXXIII, no. 16; group II-pl. XXXIII, nos. 17-19; pl. XXXV, nos. 1-5; group III-pl. XXXV, nos. 6-13). However, no such grouping is possible in cases of coins of Prithvīvarman (pl. XXXIII, no. 15), Paramardi (pl. XXXV, no. 14), Trailokyavarman (pl. XXXV, no. 15) and Vīravarman (pl. XXXV, no. 16). Many of the coins of the Chandellas are so crude in style that they might have been produced by irresponsible private moneyers employing inefficient die-cutters and resorting to defective minting technique.

The four-armed seated deity is shown also on silver, billon and copper coins of Ajayadeva (alias Ajayarāja, Jayadeva, etc.) (first half of the 12th century) of the Chāhamāna family of Ajmer[62] (pl. XXXVI, nos. 2-13; pl. XXXVII, nos. 2-13), on silver and billon pieces of Ajayapāladeva (c. 1003 to 1019 A.D. ?)[63] (pl. XXXVIII, nos. 1-2; pl. XXXIX, nos. 1-2) and gold and copper (?) coins of Kumārapāladeva (c. 1019-49 A.D. ?)[64] (pl. XL, nos. 3-18; pl. XLI, nos. 3-18) and gold, silver, billon and copper pieces of Mahīpāla (c. A.D. 1103-1128)[65] (pl. XXXVIII, nos. 3-12; pl. XXXIX, nos. 3-12). The last three rulers have been doubtfully considered as scions of the Tomara dynasty.[66] The dates assigned to them, as indicated here, are also not absolutely convincing.[67]

While the female figure on the coins of Ajayadeva and on some specimens of Kumārapāla is extremely crude in appearance (pl. XXXVII, nos. 2-13; pl. XLI, nos. 13-18), it is much better executed on the coins of Ajayapāla and on a great number of pieces of Mahīpāla (pl. XXXIX, nos. 1-2 and 3-5).

The coins bearing the names of Mahīpāla and Kumārapāla can be stylistically divided into a few groups. We can find at least three groups in the Mahīpāḷa coinage (group I–pl. XXXIX, nos. 3-5; group II–pl. XXXIX, nos. 7-11; group III–pl. XXXIX, no. 12) and at least four groups in the Kumārapāla coinage (group I–pl. XLI, nos. 1-2; group II–pl. XLI, nos. 3-6; group III–pl. XLI, nos. 7-12; group IV–pl. XLI, nos. 13-18). The pieces of the fourth group of the latter class of coinage are dumpy and have shorter flan. It is not impossible that the coins bearing very crudely executed figure of the deity concerned and the name of Kumārapāla were unofficial imitations (pl. XLI, nos. 13f).

Ajayapāladeva may perhaps be identified with Ajayapāla of the the Yadu dynasty of Bayana (a known date of whose is A.D. 1150).[68] In the legend *Śrīma(d)=Kumārapāla-devaḥ* on one side of several gold, debased gold and copper pieces, bearing a seated female on the other, we may have a reference to Kunwarapāla (=Kumārapāla) of the same family.[69] His coins were perhaps referred to by Thakkur Pheru as Kumāru[70] The ruler concerned was defeated by the force of Mu'izzud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām in 1196.[71] The coins of Kumārapāla might have been among the prototypes for the "seated goddess" variety of coins struck by Muhammad bin Sām towards the close of the 12th century A.D. (pl. XLVII, no. 3). The proposed identification of Mahīpāla with Mahīpāla (A.D. 1093 and 1104) of the Kachchhapaghāta family of Gwalior[72] is acceptable in view of the plausibility of the inclusion of that region within the possible area of circulation of the coin-type (seated goddess) in question. However, the identification of Virasiṁharāma mentioned on a class of gold coins, bearing a seated goddess on the other (pl. XXXVI, no. 1; pl. XXXVII, no. 1), is not certain.[73] The figure of the goddess on these coins has some plasticity[74] and is stylistically superior to her representations on the coins bearing the names of Ajayadeva and Kumārapāla.[75]

The outlines and contours of the body of the goddess are shown on a number of coins of Ajayapāla and Mahīpāla and on most of the pieces bearing the names of Ajayadeva and Kumārapāla (as on several Gāhaḍavāla pieces) in relief much higher than its (i.e. the body's) remaining portion. This feature is given prominence on many pieces to such an extent that the goddess becomes almost unrecognisable on them (pl. XXXVII, nos. 9f; pl. XLI, nos. 14f).

Such a position is a measure of degradation in the style of representing the goddess reached by sometime of the 12th century A.D. in at least certain areas of circulation of the coins bearing the device in question. Hence many of the pieces displaying the female deity can not claim artistic excellence. But there are many others, struck in the earlier phase of circulation, whose artistic merit can not be denied.

We have already noted that the style of representing the seated goddess on some coins of Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva may be compared with that of a seated deity on Gupta coins. In this respect the Haihaya coins supplement, as we have noted above, the Haihaya art, which indicates awareness of Gupta classical tradition.[76] Figures of the deity on these coins and also on those of several goddesses in sculptures of the Haihaya period are distinguished "by ample and rounded volumes in the manner of the common denominator of mediaeval central Indian trend. The contours, however, are facile and unbroken in accordance of the Gupta classical ideal. The treatment of the body has again the flavour of the same concept, though not the same spiritual import".[77] However, stiffness and rigidity in the treatment of the body can be noticed in several other sculptures as well as on coins.

Some of the coins of the Kalachuris and of the Gāhaḍavālas show the goddess as having heavy physiognomical form and ample volume, though lacking in plastic sensivity and gliding linearism. These features are among the characteristics of central Indian sculptural style of early mediaeval period[78] (pl. XLII).

G

Some of the other devices of early mediaeval coins are not without some artistic or iconographic importance. We can here refer to a few of them.

An interesting coin-type of the Kalachuri family of Ratnapur (Ratanpur 16 miles north of Bilaspur in M. P.), was used by *inter alias* Ratnadeva II (or III) and Pṛithivīdeva (I or II).[79] The relevant coins of Prithvīdeva display a ferocious attacking lion. Here the style of execution is somewhat rigid and conventional. Certain portions of the body are in relief and shown more prominently than the rest (pl. XLIII, no. 1). The same feature is discernible on some of the coins of the Kalachuris of Ratnapura (including the last noted rulers), displaying on one side a lion, with its mouth open, seated upon an elephant, walking to right[80] (pl. XLIII, no. 2). Inspite of the apparent failure of the artist or artists concerned in bringing out all the necessary details of the figures, he or they was or were able to infuse ferocity in the lion and strength in the elephant.

The "lion-on-elephant" composition appears to represent the *gaja-siṁha* motif, which is so well-known in art of Eastern India (including Orissa) of mediaeval period (pl. XLIV, nos. 1 and 3), and which can be recognised as one "of the most powerful and dynamic realisations of the fantastic in Indian art".[81]

The figure of a monkey under a canopy, appearing on several coins of the Chandellas (Sallakshaṇavarman, Jayavarman and Pṛithivīvarman)[82] (pl. XLV, nos. 1 and 3), probably represents the associate of the epic hero Rāmachandra. Hanumān is shown as holding a bow and an arrow. On some coins of Jayavarman Hanumān is shown flying over something (sea ?)[83] (pl. XLV, nos. 3-4). Hanumān appears in various postures [flying, crushing a demon while standing, crushing the latter while sitting, holding a trident, holding a standard (?), etc.] on copper coins of the Kalachuris of Ratnapur.[84] The most impressive is the appearance of the four-armed Hanumān on a group of coins of Kalachuri Pṛithvīdeva (I—A.D. 1079-1114; or II—c. A.D. 1128/1141-1158). Hanumān, holding a stalk of lotus in the upper left hand, a disc in the upper left, a mace in the lower left and a conch (?) in the lower left, tramples a demon lying on his back[85] (pl. XLV, no. 5). Here the monkey is not an ordinary animal. He is here playing the role of Ādivarāha, one of the incarnations of Vishṇu. Ādivarāha, as noted above, also appears in sculptural art and on coins bearing *inter alia* the name of Pratīhāra Bhoja (pl. XVI and pl. XLV, no. 4). Though the style of execution of the figure on the Kalachuri coins in question is rather angular, it has been able to convey the strength and vigour of the monkey-god having a well developed physique. The coins show that the cult of Hanumān had been become popular by the early mediaeval period.

Sometime well executed figures can be noticed on coins of little known rulers. For an example we can refer to a male figure seated on a lotus on one side of a gold piece (pl. XLV, no. 6). Avalokiteśvara appears on a coin of Vindhyaśakti of about 8th century A.D. (not Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti).[86] The deity is shown seated in *ardha-paryaṅkāsana* and holding the stalk of a lotus in his right hand and having his left hand resting on his left knee (pl. XLV, no. 7). We can at once discern a relationship between the schemes of representations of the deity on the coin and sculptural art[87] (pl. XLV, no. 8). On the coins concerned the deity is worshipped by a crowned figure (Vindhyaśakti) (pl. XLV, no. 7). A male figure worships a *liṅga* on one side of a coin of a chief called Kaśava (Keśava ?)[88] (pl. XLVI, no. 5). The reverse displays a cow suckling a calf (pl. XLVI, no. 5) a theme also known to sculptural art[88a] (pl. XLVII no. 3). This device is noticeable, as noted above, in the gold coin-type of Ādivarāha (pl. XLVI, no. 4). It appears also on coins of Vatsadāman[89] (pl. XLVI, no. 2). The same device and some other objects are noticeable on gold and copper coins of Bopparāja, identifiable with well-known Bāppā Rāwal of Mewar (8th century A.D.)[90] (pl. XLVI, no. 1). On the other side of these coins we can see a well-formed recumbent bull, with its volume properly delineated, in front of a *liṅga* with *yoni-paṭṭa* and by the side of a male (probably Śiva), reciling on his back. The die-cutter has here imaginatively presented in one composition, Śiva, his phallic representation and his mount (as well as his thereomorphic form) (pl. XLVI, no. 1).

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Without multiplying such examples it can be assumed that post-Gupta coinages produced a number of interesting coin-types, which were important iconographically. A few of these iconic types indicate innovation and imagination on the part of the die-cutters. The devices also reflect trends in religious movements. For an example, we can refer to the evolution of the seated goddess type as a coin-device. The seated goddess, whose appearance can be typologically traceable to the figure of seated Lakshmī of the Gupta age, was in the period concerned considered as the goddess of wealth, the Śakti of Vishṇu. But the veil on her head and the prominence given to her breasts and belly on many coins of the Haihayas, Chandellas, etc., indicate that she was often taken as a mother goddess. The appearance of the phallic representation of Śiva by the side of the goddess on a number of Gāhaḍavāla pieces distinguishes her as Durgā, the consort of Śiva. Thus the seated goddess device on early mediaeval coins of north India indicates at least three forms of Śakti–Lakshmī, Ambā and Durgā. Their cults might have been popular in early mediaeval age. In Kāśmīra the enthroned goddess Ardoksho was accepted perhaps as the goddess of fortune or Lakshmī. Attempts were perhaps made to represent her as a Yakshiṇī or Vārāhī, one of the mātrikas, and also as Gaṇeśāṇī, the Śakti of Gaṇeśa. Vārāhī is well represented in early mediaeval sculpture (pl. XLVI, no. 6).

Allusions to Vaishṇavism can be found in the appearance of Ādivarāha on the coins of Bhoja, Vināyakapāla and their imitations and also on the obverse of a coin of Vatsadāman. The popularity of the cult of Hanumān, as suggested by several coins of the Kalachuris and the Chandellas, has been referred to above.

Our discussion also shows that coin-devices sometimes betray current tendencies towards syncretism of different cults. Coin-devices, like icons, offered a medium of religious expression.

On the other hand, portrait of the king gradually became a rare feature in the post-Gupta coinages. Again, real portraits (and not conventional busts) appear only on pieces struck by some of the non-indigenous rulers.

In fact, royal interest in striking coins regularly waned in the post-Gupta age. Hence the number of coins of high artistic merit, produced at well organised royal mints of the period, is not very impressive. On the other hand, productions of ill organised mints and imitations always tended to corrupt and degrade stylistically the current coin-devices (which might have been initially minted with artistry).

NOTES

1. *CGD*, pl. XXIV, no. 4.
2. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV, no. 5.
3. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII, nos. 15-16. If the circular object appearing by the side of Śiva and in the upper left field of the obverse of Śaśāṅka's coins stands for full moon,

here we have an allusion to his name which literally means "moon". However, Śiva himself is also known as śaśāṅka-śekhara ("moon-crested"). Both the deity and the king may have been imaginatively alluded to by the object in question.

4. *Ibid.*, pl.XXIII, nos. 15-16; pl. XXIV, nos. 1-2. Some coins of Śaśāṅka, carrying the devices of his gold coins, are so debased and contain so much of silver that they appear as silver pieces. For two such pieces see *JRAS*, 1979, pp. 152-153. These two coins, weighing 9.06 and 8.428 gms., are obviously struck on the 80 rati (i. e. about 9.330 gms.) weight standard, used for striking gold coins. The specific gravity of one of these is higher than that of silver and it "looks yellowish". The scholar, who has noticed these pieces, admits that the "yellowish" coin may contain a certain percentage of gold. It appears that these two pieces, which display the devices on Śaśāṅka's gold coins, are very much debased "gold" pieces. They should not be taken as regular silver coins of that ruler. The same may be said about the three other known so-called silver pieces of Śaśāṅka, one found during an excavation at Mainamati (Comilla district, Bangladesh) and two now preserved in the V. R. Museum, Rajshahi (Bangladesh) (*Bangladesh Times*, December, 1981, vol. II, no. 2, p. 11).

4a. V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 135; *DHI*, p. 375.

5. *Bangladesh Lalitkalā*, 1975, vol. I, no. 1, pp. 51f; *Desh* (in Bengali), 24th April, 1982, pp. 17f.

6. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1976, pp. 99f and pl. facing p. 69; *Bangladesh Lalitkalā*, 1975, vol. I, no. 2, pp. 115f and pl. XXXVII; *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, 1975-76, vol. IV, pp. 219f and pl. I.

7. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, 1976-77, vol. X, pp. 166f.

8. The "bust : trident" and "bust : humped bull" silver coins of the Guptas also influenced some Post-Gupta coinages.

8a. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, pp. 1385-1387 and 1395.

9. *CGD*, pl. XVIII, no. 1; E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl. IV, nos. 13-14.

9a. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, p. 1387.

10. K. D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 155; pl. VII, no. 8.

11. *NC*, 1893, p. 202.

12. *KCLFR*, pll. VI-VII.

13. L. Gopal, *Early Mediaeval Coin-Types of Northern India*, pl. I, no. 9f; pl. II, nos. 2-7.

14. *CMI*, pl. III, no. 9.

14a. *Ibid.*, no. 3.

15. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pl. II, no. 8f; pl. III, no. 1f.

16. L. Gopal *op. cit.*, pl. IV, no. 2f.

17. *Ibid.*, pl. IV, no. 10f.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 6 and pl. IV, no. 9. There are billon pieces in the British Museum.
19. B. D. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, p. 45.
20. *CMI*, pl. V, no. 22. So far as the prototype coins are concerned, their actual issuing authority cannot be determined.
20a. *The Arts of India and Nepal : The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection*, p. 62 and fig. 51.
21. A. Biswas, *Political History of the Hūṇas in India*, pp. 180f.
22. R. Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, vol. III, pl. XV, no. 39, 40, 41, etc. ; pl. XVI, no. 44 ; pl. XXV, nos. 79 and 89 ; *NC*, 1894, pl. IX, no. 1f.
23. *NC*, 1894, pl. IX, no. 16 ; pl. X, no. 1.
24. *Ibid.*, no. 3f ; R. Göbl, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pl. XXVII, pl. X, no. 89f. The same deity may not appear on all relevant coins.
24a. R. Göbl, *op. cit.*, pl. 43, nos. 198/8f ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, p. 1398.
24b. Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen hsien t'ung K'ao*, ch. 326 ; M. Abel-Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. I, p. 211.
25. *NC*, 1894, pp. 290-292 ; pl. XII, nos. 9-11 ; R. Göbl, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pl. XLVI, no. 206 ; pl. XLVII, nos. 208f ; pl. LI, no. 213.
26. *NC*, 1894, p. 268.
27. *India Antiqua*, pp. 326-329.
28. R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, pl. XIV, no. 218.
29. P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 66.
30. *NS*, 1904, pp. 368f ; L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 2f.
31. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 4f ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, pp. 1399-1400.
32. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, no. 10 ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. III, pt. II, p. 1390.
33. *PSAC*, pl. VII, no. 61.
34. It is interesting to note that the reverse type and perhaps also the obverse device were copied by a king called Vatsadāman, one of whose gold coins was noticed long ago by E. J. Rapson (*JRAS*, 1900, p. 32 and pl. I, no. 19). The "cow suckling a calf" device and some other objects are noticeable on the coins of Bopparāja, identifiable with Bāppā Rāwal (*JNSI*, 1958, vol. XX, pp. 30-31 ; pl. II, nos. 16 and 17).
35. On some coins of Ādi Varāha or rather on some of their imitations and on several pieces bearing (a legend referring probably to) the name of Vināyakapāla the face of the boar appears like that of an ass. This feature might have been among the factors responsible for naming the corrupt imitations of the "bust : altar and attendants" coins, with which the Ādi Varāha series had been connected, as

Gadahiyā or Gādhāiyā (Gardabhīya) coins [i.e. coins bearing a figure resembling an ass (*gardabha*)].

36. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, no. 7f; pl. IX, nos. 1-3; D. B. Pandey, *The Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab*, pp. 177f.

37. D. W. MacDowall has tried to postulate, though rather unconvincingly, a pre-Brāhmanical Shāhi origin of the coins bearing the legend referring to Spalapatideva. He further believes that "the legends Śrī Spalapati Deva, Śrī Vakka Deva, Śrī Sāmanta Deva cannot be names of individual kings, but must be titles repeated continuously for a long range of kings throughout the dynasty" (*NC*, 1968, pp. 207 and 211). MacDowall's views are being refuted by us in one of our forthcoming publications.

38. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, no. 10.

38a. L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 69a and 77f; P. C. Ray, *The Coinage of Northern India*, pp, 80f.

39. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-34; P. L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 85. The name of Prithvīrāja (III) occurs on one side of a class of coins bearing also the name of Muhammad bin Sām (P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII, no. 17). The latter retained the name of Prithvīrāja on this class of specie, perhaps the first of different series of his "horseman" type coins probably because coins, carrying the name of the Chauhan king had already been well-known to the subjects. For similar reason Shāhi Sāmantadeva's name was retained almost as a part of the relevant type ("horseman and bull") on coins of many rulers who did not even belong to the Shāhi family.

40. D. B. Pandey, *op.cit.*, pl. VII, nos. 1-3.

40a. The figure of horseman on the gold coins issued in the name of Muhammad bin Sām for commemorating the conquest of Gauḍa, however, indicates well-executed features and volume. These are obviously due to the use of well intagliated dies by skilled artists (*JNSI*, 1973, vol. XXXV, pl. IV, no. 1), (pl. XVII no. 16).

41. *NC*, 1952, pp. 133f; D. B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 and 218; pl. VI, no. 1. The obverse legend of the coin concerned is *Shāhi-śrī-Bhīmadeva* and the reverse legend is *Śrīmad-(gata)-Sāmantadeva*.

42. S. K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 201; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *Struggle for Empire*, p. 664. For examples we can refer to a pot-stone sculpture showing Śiva and Pārvatī (now in the British Museum) (D. B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII) and a metal image of Vishṇu with Lakshmī from Chamba (c. 10th century A. D.) (M. Singh, *Hima'ayan Art*, p. 121).

43. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 and 75-79; pl. X, nos. 6-7 and 12f; pl. XI,

nos. 1, 5-9 and 12; P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 1f, 54f, 65f, 69f, 75f, 84, 85 and 108; P. L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

44. These features do not allow us to accept, unlike several other scholars (*CMI*, p. 72; *CCIM*, pp. 252-253; R. K. Sharma, *The Kalachuris and Their Times*, pp. 283-285; P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 8; etc.), that all coins bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva should be attributed to his official mints. In this connection see D. W. MacDowall, "The Coinage of Gāṅgeyadeva of Ḍāhala", *NC*, 1958, pp. 156-165. Our classification of the Gāṅgeyadeva coins, however, differs on several points from that of MacDowall. The seated goddess type was used in different metals (gold, debased gold, silver and copper) by rulers of other dynasties—a few of them using more than one metal—after the Gāṅgeyadeva coinage had been degraded and degraded coins in different metals were available to serve as prototypes. Availability of stylistically different varieties of the Gāṅgeyadeva coinage is suggested by the contents of the Tingamali (M. P.) hoard (*JNSI*, 1981, vol. XLIII, pt. II, pp. 72-74; pl. III, nos. 1-5).

45. S. K. Saraswati, "East Indian Manuscript Painting" (*Chhavi* (published by Bharat Kala Bhavan), I, pp. 245 and 246; *Pālayugera Chitrakalā* (in Bengali), pp. cover and p. 44; P. Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, figs. 240, 377, etc.; V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, pt. I, pll. XL, XLV (rev.), etc.; pt. II, pll. LXX, LXXII, LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVII, LXXXIII.

46. V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, pt. I, p. 236.

47. *DHI*, pp. 540f.

48. For an example we can refer to the use of the figure of Garuḍa on seals and coins by the Imperial Guptas (CII, vol. III, *IEGK*, p. 213 and pl. XLVI; *CGE*, pl. XVI, nos. 8-10).

49. The Piawan inscription of Gāṅgeyadeva (of A. D. 789 ?) refers to him as a Māheśvara (V.V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 633). Mirashi observes that "Gāṅgeya was an ardent Śaiva. According to the Bheraghat inscription of Narasiṁha, he erected a matchless temple of the Meru type, which was probably dedicated to Śiva. His Piawan rock inscription seems to have recorded the installation of a Śiva-liṅga" (V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. XCII).

50. *CGE*, pl. IV, no. 14, pl. IX, no. 3; pl. XIV, no. 8; pl. XV, no. 1f.

51. *SIS*, pp. 133f.

52. *CGE*, pl. Vf.

53. *Ibid.*, pl. IX, no. 10; pl. X, nos. 2-15.

54. *SIS*, p. 195.

55. *The Arts of India and Nepal : The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection*, fig. no. 33 and p. 44.

56. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of India and Indonesian Art*, pl. XLVII, nos. 176 and 177.

56a. See above n. 44.

57. For discussion on reckless imitation and consequent degradation of coinage of Heramaeus in an earlier period, see B. N. Mukherjee, *The Pāradas—A Study in Their Coinage and History*, pp. 96f.

57a. *NS*, no. XXXIII, p. 84. S. K. Bhatt claims to have seen one base gold, two silver, and one copper coin of Udayāditya at Indore ("The Art of Coinage under the Paramāras" ; *Art of the Paramāras of Malwa*, p. 74, f.n. 1).

58. H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, pp. 875-876. The indication that Udayāditya ruled in 1116 V.S. and 981 S.E. is furnished by an inscription of a much later date (1562 V.S.) *ibid.*, p. 875).

59. *Ibid.*, p. 876. The Udaipur praśasti of Udayāditya gives him the credit of destroying the lord of Ḍāhala (*Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, 1925-26, p. 13). This Ḍāhala king must be identified with Karṇa, from whom and a Karṇāta monarch the Paramāra kingdom was rescued by Udayāditya, according to the Nagpur praśasti. (*EI*, vol. II, p. 185). So, D. C. Ganguly was wrong in identifying this Karṇa with Chaulukya Karṇa (R. C. Majumdar, (editor), *Struggle for Empire*, p. 68. See also P. Bhatia, *The Paramāras*, pp. 102-104).

59a. R. K. Sethi, *JNSI*, 1968 vol. XXX, p. 208; pl. IV, nos. 3-4.

59b. For information on the crude representation of the goddess on the coins of two other Paramāra rulers, see S. K. Bhatt, *op. cit.*, p. 73. About Naravarman's coinage it should be noted that the weight of the gold piece noticed by Shethi (5.6 gms.) is much higher than the recorded weight of coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, which must have served as prototypes of the coins of Naravarman's predecessor Udayāditya. Moreover, the provenances of the two known coins of Naravarman, now in private collections, are not recorded. So they may be spurious.

60. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 515 ; *CMI*, pl. IX, no. 16 ; *CCIM*, pp. 260-261 ; etc.

61. *CMI*, pl. VIII, nos. 12-15; *CCIM*, pp. 253-254; L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76; pl. X, nos. 6, 12, 13, and 15-17. For a gold coin of Prithvīvarman in the British Museum, see *NC*, 1921, s. 5, vol. I, p. 336; pl. IX, no. 4.

62. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 79 and pl. XI, no. 12; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 82. There are some billon, copper as well as silver and base silver pieces of this ruler in the British Museum.

63. *CMI*, p. 85; L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78. The British Museum cabinet has a billon coin of Ajayapāladeva (no. Tom/A1/2).
64. *CCIM*, pp. 258; L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78; *JNSI*, 1964, vol. XXVI, pp. 235-240 and pl. VIII, no. 1. The reading of the legend on the gold coin noticed in *JNSI*, is surely *Śrīma(d)=Kumārapāla* (*ibid.*, pl. VIII, no. 1) and not *Śrīmat Kunwarpāladeva*, as thought by P. C. Ray (*op. cit.*, p. 86). A coin of Kumārapāla in the British Museum (no Tom/K/11 appears to be made mainly or substantially of copper.
65. *CMI*, p. 85; *CCIM*, p. 258; L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 78. There are a few copper coins of this ruler in the British Museum.
66. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
67. *CCIM*, p. 256.
68. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 55.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56; P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 86. See also above n. 64. The suggestion for identifying Kumārapāla and Ajayapāladeva respectively with Kumārapāla (1143-45 and 1171-72) and Ajayapāla (1172-1176) of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat (P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85), is tempting but by no means certain.
70. Thakkura Pherū, *Dravya Parikashā*, 857; V. S. Agrawala, "A Unique Treatise on Mediaeval Indian Coins", *Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, p. 89. P. C. Ray is wrong in stating that Thakkura Pherū referred to "Padmā type of one Kumāru", (*op. cit.*, p. 86). Kumāru itself is the name of a class of coins [issued by Kumārapāla, who, however, used what could be called Padmā (Lakshmī) type].
71. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 56.
72. P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
73. J. Allan identified him with Vīrasiṁha of the Narwar plate of 1177 V.S. (A.D. 1120-21). The legend is *Vīrasiṁharāma*, and not, as Mirashi wants to read, *Vīrasiṁharāya* (*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVIII, p. 71).
74. The figure, with prominent breasts, is surely that of a female and not of a male (as was wrongly thought by K. N. Dikshit) (*NS*, no. XLVI, p. 26).
75. The horseman on the gold coins of Vīrasiṁhadema (=Vīrasiṁhadeva) has plasticity (*NS*, no. XLVI, p. 25). Vīrasiṁharaṃa can be identified with Vīrasiṁhadema if the legends on their coins are amended as *Vīrasiṁharāya* and *Vīrasiṁhadeva* respectively.
76. *SIS*, p. 197.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*, p. 196; M. M. Mukhopadhyay, *Sculptures of Ganga-Yamuna Valley*, figs. 91 and 92.

79. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74; pl. IX, nos. 16 and 20.
80. *Ibid.*, pl. IX, nos. 8-10, 13-14 and 17-18 and pl. X, no. 4.
81. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, vol. II, pll. 348-349; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 551.
82. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 75; pl. X, nos. 8-11.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 75; P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
84. P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
85. *CMI*, pl. VIII, no. 8.
86. *JNSI*, 1959, vol. XXI, p. 7; pl. IV, no. 1.
87. For an example see S. K. Saraswati, *Tantrayāna Art Albam*, fig. 58 for a form of Avalokiteśvara.
88. *NC*, 1933, 5th series, vol. XIII, p. 139.
88a. *In the Image of Man, The Indian Perception of the Universe through 2000 years of Painting and Sculpture*, A catalogue of the exhibition held in the Hayward Gallery, London, from March 25 to June 13, 1982, p. 101, no. 24.
89. See above n. 35. See also *NC*, 1937, 5th series, vol. XVII, p. 299 and pl. XXXV, no. 5.
90. *JNSI*, 1958, vol. XX, pp. 30-32; pl. II, nos. 14-15.

IV

EPILOGUE

The relationship between different media of art is evident from the products of the early Gupta age (Chandragupta I—Skandagupta), which undoubtedly produced the best objects of numismatic art of the periods under review. A great number, though not all, of such coins may be classed as objects of art. These pieces may be taken as end-products of a series of reflections and operations like (a) the decision to issue coins regularly in the name of the reigning king, (b) the formulation of a policy to use coinage as a medium of propaganda for projecting the skill and valour of the emperor, (c) employment of skilled and imaginative sculptors for engraving dies for producing coins to serve as art objects as well as media of exchange, (d) use of fairly pure metal for preparing blanks (for gold, copper and at least the majority of silver pieces),[1] and (e) adoption of at least an adequately efficient process for striking coins in manually controlled mints.

All of these points are not suggested regularly by coins of any single series of the post-Gupta specie. We do not know of coins of all members of all of the ruling families who are credited to have their own coinage.[2] There are reasons to believe that coins were used to be minted by rulers of at least certain dynasties only when there was demand for them in market and then also new pieces were struck often with old familiar types[3] and sometimes even with names of dead rulers[4] (whose coins had already become popular with the people). Private moneyers were also allowed to mint coins. They were understandably not at all keen to maintain the quality of coins and purity of metal. As a result, coins of a ruler might have continued to be imitated in debased metal and technique even long after his own period.[5]

Such circumstances were hardly propitious for producing a regular series of coinage of the standard set by the early Imperial Guptas. Nevertheless, as noted above, coins of good artistic merit, sometimes bearing novel types and new iconic traits, were not altogether unknown. Coins were also occasionally used as a medium of propaganda,[6] Coins devices, which form the basis of numismatic art, might have been sometimes used for naming a series in popular parlance.[7]

No doubt, the number of known coins of good artistic quality of the post-Gupta age is insignificant in comparison with the multitude of pieces minted officially or unofficially for serving only as media of exchange.[8] Nevertheless, among the comparatively small number of quality coins we can figure out objects of art, sometimes betraying awareness of contemporary sculptural style and occasionally representing the creative genius of the age.[9]

Coins of real artistic merit, whether of the Gupta or post-Gupta period (and whether belonging to northern or southern India), often betray stylistic relationship between coins and sculptures. These two media of art may be related to each other also thematically and iconographically.[10] As the sculptural art is more pervasive than numismatic art, the latter seems to have felt the impact of the former. In fact, available data suggest that in antiquity good sculptors were often employed as die-cutters,[11] who at least sometimes copied the stylistic traits and iconic features of cult icons.[12] Die-engravers are also known to have reproduced within a miniature scale the visual traits of a form of contemporary architecture.[13] Stylistic affinity of some late mediaeval coin-devices to miniature paintings has already been recognised.[14]

All these data reveal that skilled die-engravers employed in an organised mint, controlled by an enlightened authority, did not work in isolation. They had the capacity to capture the spirit of the time (artistic, social, religious and political) in selecting and engraving a coin-device and to transform it into a thing of beauty, "a joy for ever".[15]

NOTES

1. Several silver-plated copper coins and a few gold-plated coins are known to us (*CGD*, pp. 232-233, *Indian Archaeology*, 1970-71, *A Review*, p. 10 and pl. XXVII, no. B; see also above Chapter I, n. 17 and Chapter II, section A). We also know of lead coins of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta I (*Numismatic Digest*, 1981, vol. V, pt. I, pp. 19f; see also above chapter II, section A).
2. For an example, we can refer to the Imperial Pratīhāra family. Though the famous series of Ādivarāha dramma was inaugurated by Bhoja, not all members of his family minted coins (at least not in their names). On the other hand, this coin-type continued to be minted (officially and unofficially) even long after the reign of Bjoja. The Rāshtrakūṭas, whose records refer to some coin-denominations, are not known to have minted coins carrying their names (G. Yazdani (editor), *The*

Early History of the Deccan, p. 801). So also the Pālas (the members of family of Gopāla I) and the Senas (i. e. the members of the house of Vijayasena) did not strike coins (at least not in their names). Kapardakas or cowries and gold and silver "dust" (or pieces) of fixed weight (and perhaps sometimes coins imported from territories of other rulers) served as media of exchange in their dominions (*JNSI*, 1983, vol. XLV, pp. 159f; D. C. Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, pp. 49-50). (In Harikela, which was at times at least partly in the Pāla empire, there was a regular series of coins). The system of barter was also practised in different parts of the subcontinent (L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, c. A. D. *700-1200*, p. 215).

3. "Bull" and "horseman" devices were used not only by different members of the Shāhi family, but also by rulers of other dynasties (L. Gopal, *The Coin-Types of Early Mediaeval Northern India*, pp. 70-72, 77, 79, etc.).
4. See above n. 2 and below n. 5.
5. Silver coins bearing the name of the early Kalachuri ruler Kṛshṇarāja were in circulation even more than 150 years after the end of his rule (V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. CLXXXI).
6. For an example, we can refer to the "fish" (of the Pāṇdyas) and "bow" (of the Cheras) on the Choḷa coins. They are taken to indicate the supremacy of the Choḷas over the Pāndya and Chera territories (B. D. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Currency Systems of South India*, p. 52).
7. Varāhakāya-viṁśopakas and Śrīmadādivarāha-drammas, mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription the tenth century A. D. (*EI*, vol. I, pp. 174-175), certainly refer to the series of coins bearing the image of the Varāha or the boar incarnation of Vishṇu. The series was inaugurated, as noted above, by the Pratīhāra king Bhoja, (See also L. Gopal, *Economic Life of Northern India, c. A. D. 700-1200*, p. 196). The name *Vṛisha-viṁśopaka*, mentioned in the Arthuna inscription of 1136 V. S. or A. D. 1079-80 (*EI*, vol. XIV, pp. 295f), may be associated with the coins bearing (i) "bull" and "horseman" devices and/or (ii) "bull and Śiva" type. The Rewa inscription of Malayasiṁha of the year 944 (of the era of A. D. 248) refers to *ṭaṅkas* stamped with the effigy of the Bhagavat (meaning the Buddha) (*EI*, vol. XIX, pp. 296). The name *Varāha*, which was used in several cases in peninsular India to denote gold coins in general, probably had the origin of its use as a coin-name in the "Boar" type coins of the Chālukyas (B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 185; G. Yazdani (editor), *op. cit.*, p. 801).
8. The number of known specimens of coins of the zone and period under review (post-Gupta and pre-Muslim), now preserved in different collections, is very large,
9. *DHI*, pp. 10f; *JNSI*, 1981, vol. XLIII, pt. II, pp. 1f.

10. G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, pp. 260-261 ; *KCLFR*, p. 70.
11. G. M. A. Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 and 119 ; figs. 148 and 152 ; F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Ancient Coins, Illustrating Lost Master pieces of Greek Art*, (edited by Al. N. Oikonomides), pll. 2 and 3.
12. *NC*, 1972, pp. 143f ; *JNSI*, 1981, vol. XLIII, pt. II, p. 32.
13. *JNSI*, 1981, vol. XLIII, p. 34 ; *PSAC*, p. 32.
14. See *PSAC*, pp. 34-36.
15. See *PSAC*, the section entitled "Select Objects of Numismatic and Related Branches of Art".

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I

CA	:	Majumdar, R. C. (editor), *The Classical Age, The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. III, Bombay, 1954.
CCADWK	:	Rapson, E. J., *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty*, London, 1908.
CCIM	:	Smith, V. A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. I, Oxford, 1906.
CGD	:	Allan, J., *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauda*, London, 1914.
CGE	:	Altekar, A. S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire, Corpus of Indian Coins*, vol. IV, Varanasi, 1957.
CGGBH	:	Altekar, A. S., *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in lhe Bayana Hoard*, Bombay, 1954.
CII, Vol. III, *IEGK*	:	D. R. Bhandarkar (revisor), *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, New Delhi, 1981.
CII. Vol. III, *IEGKS*,	:	Fleet, J. F., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*, Calcutta, 1888.
CMI	:	Cunningham, A., *Coins of Mediaeval India, From the Seventh Century Down to the Muhammadan Conquests*, London, 1894.
Com. His. Ind.	:	*A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III, pt. II (A. D. 300-985), edited by Majumdar, R. C., New Delhi, 1982.

DHI : Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1956.

IHQ : *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.

JAS : *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.

JNSI : *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay and Varanasi.

JRAS : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and Great Britain*, London.

KCLFR : Mukherjee, B. N., *Kushāṇa Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*, Calcutta, 1978.

NC : *The Numismatic Chronicle* (and *Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*), London.

NL : Mukherjee, B. N., *Nanā on Lion—A Study in Kushāṇa Numismatic Art*, Calcutta, 1969.

NS : *Numismatic Supplement* (*of the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*), Calcutta.

PSAC : Mukherjee, B. N., *A Plea for Study of Art in Coinage*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 19, Varanasi, 1983.

SIS : Saraswati, S. K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 2nd edition, New Delhi, 1975.

II

cf. : compare
cm. : centimetre
es. : enlarged in size (i. e. one and half to two times enlarged).
ees. : extraordinarily enlarged in size (i. e. more than six times enlarged)
f. : following
fig. : figure
f. n. : foot note
gm. : gramme
mm. : milimetre

n.	note
no.	number
ns.	new series
obv.	obverse
os.	old series
p.	page
P. G. C.	Percentage of Gold Content
pl.	plate
pt.	part
res.	remarkably enlarged in size (i. e. two and half to about three times enlarged).
rev.	reverse
ses.	slightly enlarged in size
S. G.	Specific Gravity
srs.	slightly reduced in size
ves.	very much enlarged in size (i. e. three times or little more than three times enlarged).
vol.	volume.

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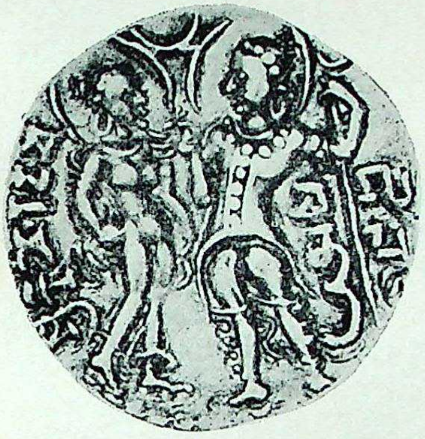

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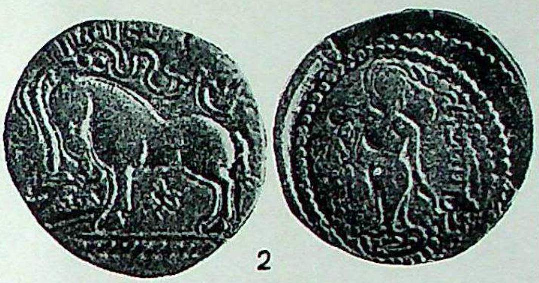

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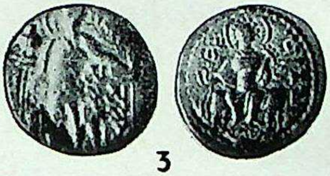

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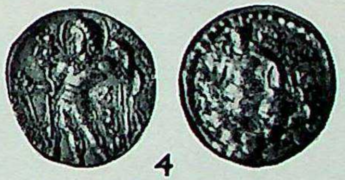

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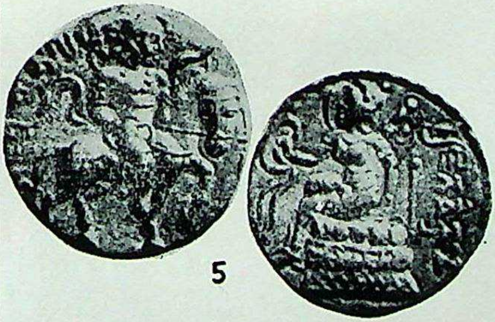

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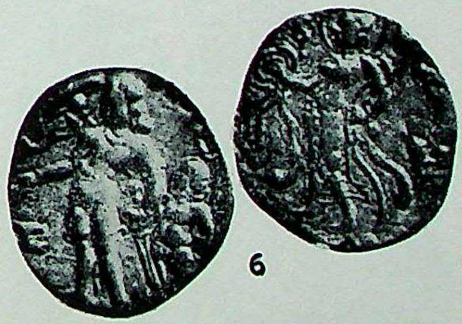

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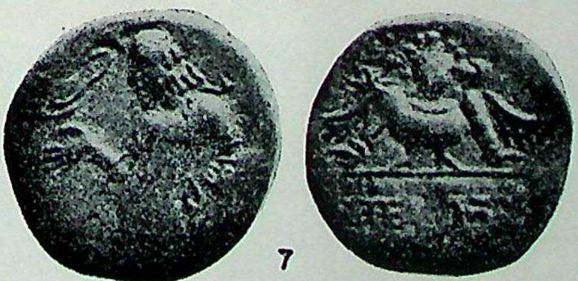

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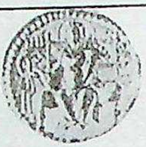
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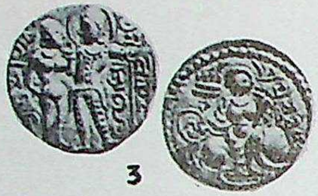
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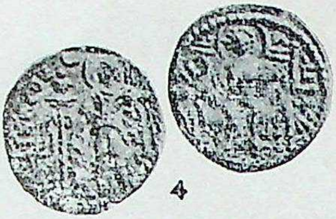
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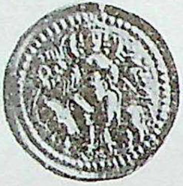
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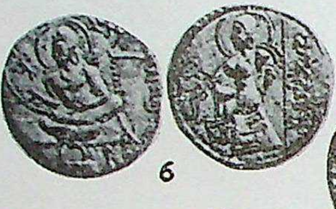
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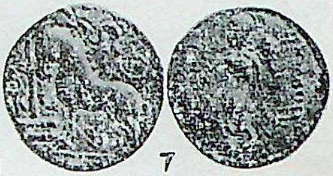
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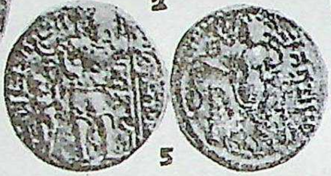
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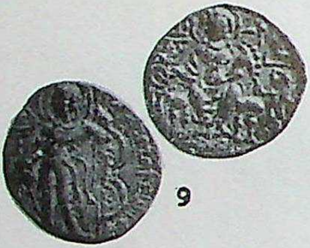
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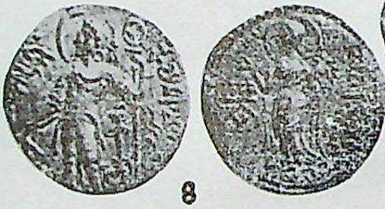
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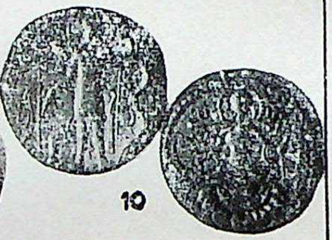
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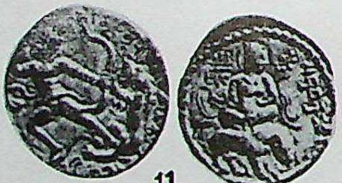
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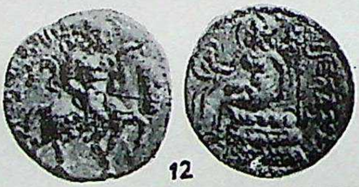
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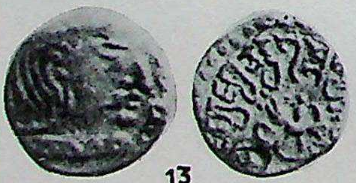
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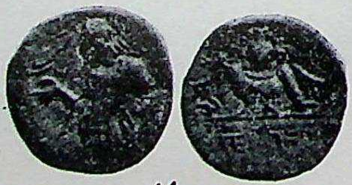
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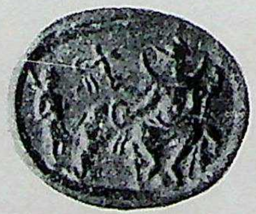
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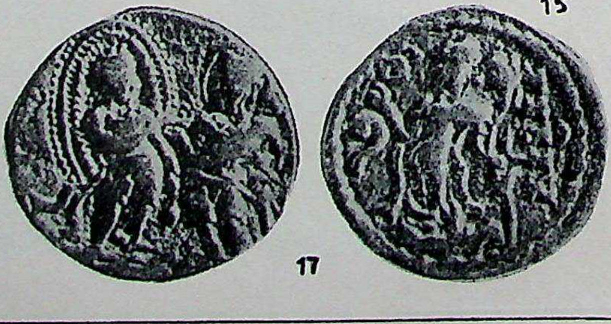
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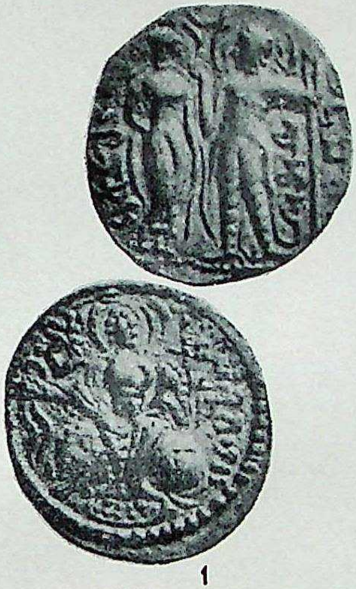

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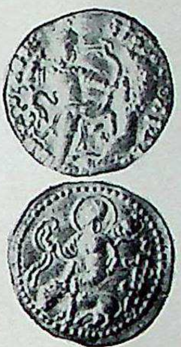

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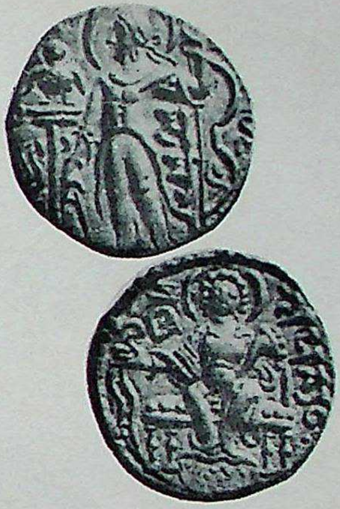

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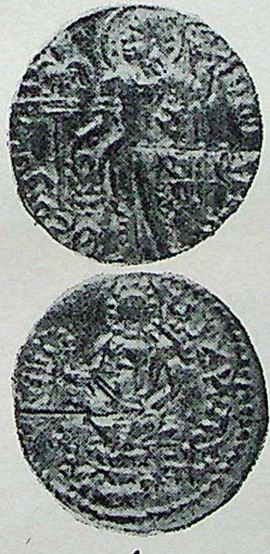

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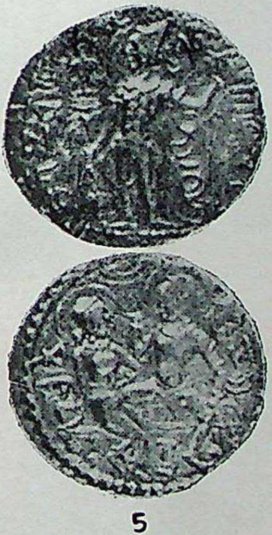

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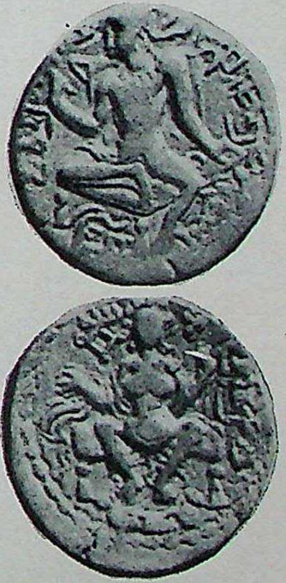

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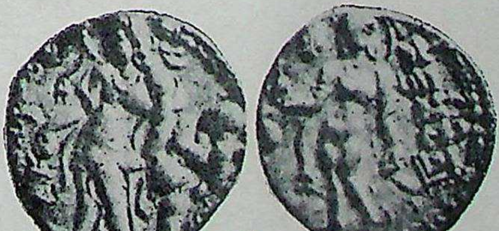

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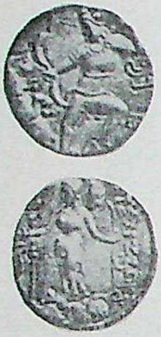

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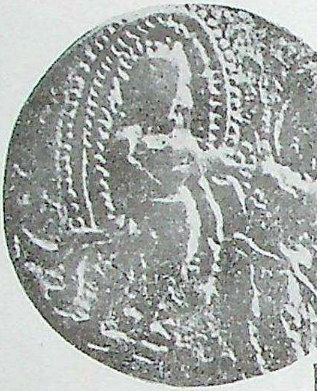

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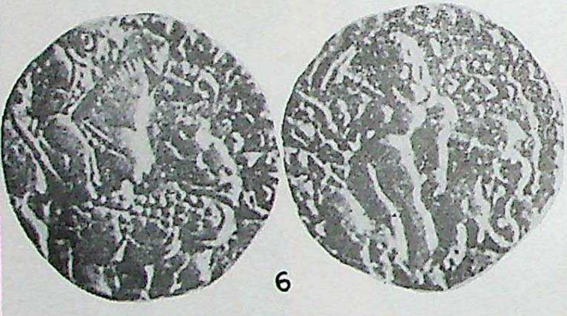

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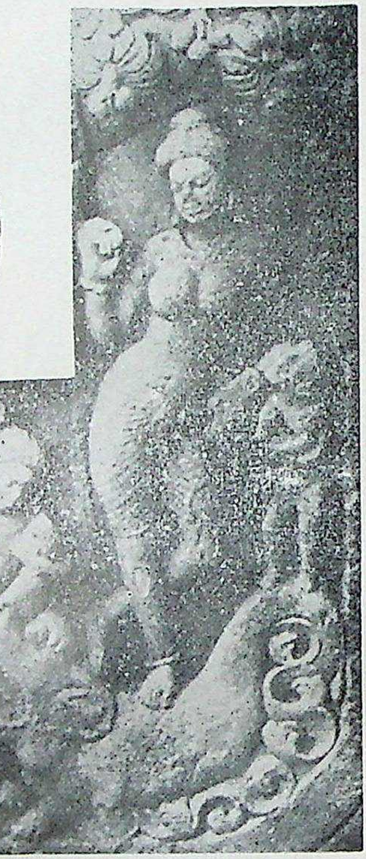

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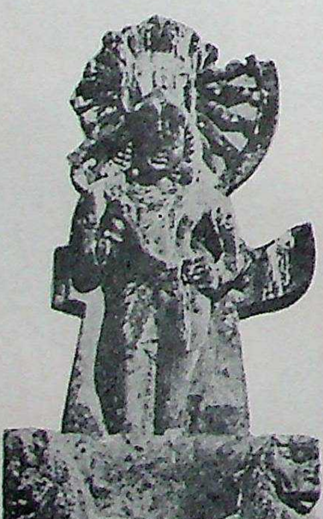

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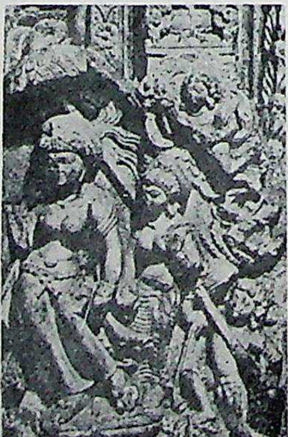

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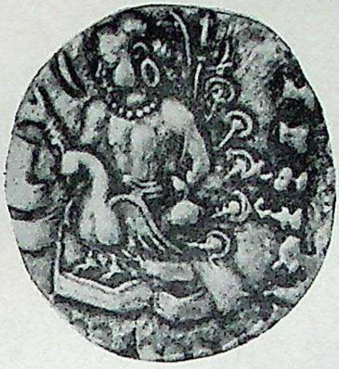
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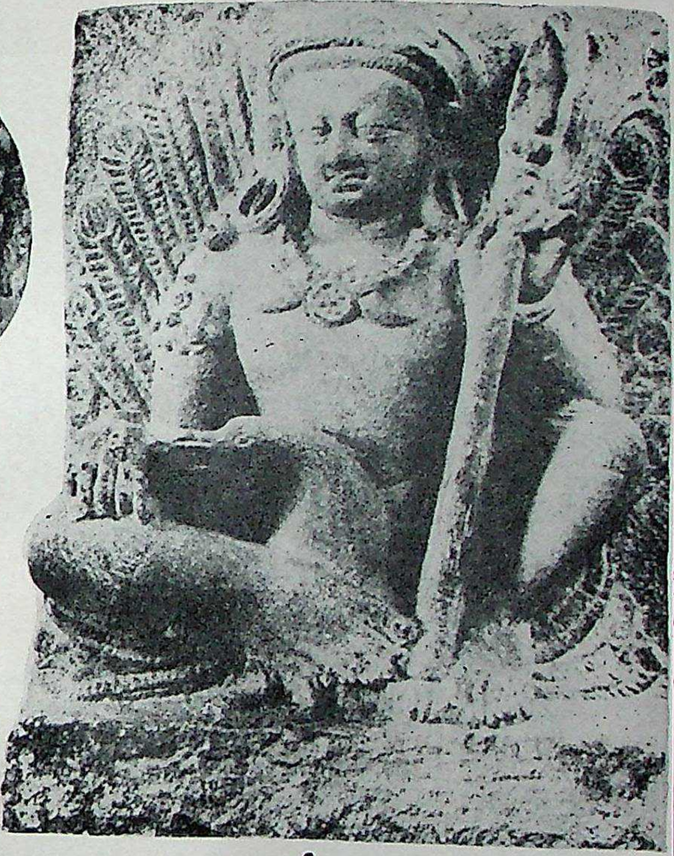
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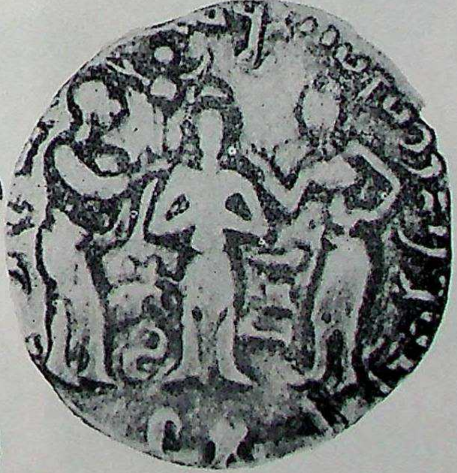
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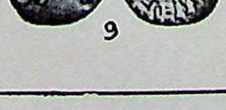
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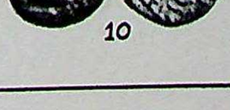
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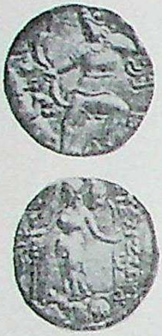

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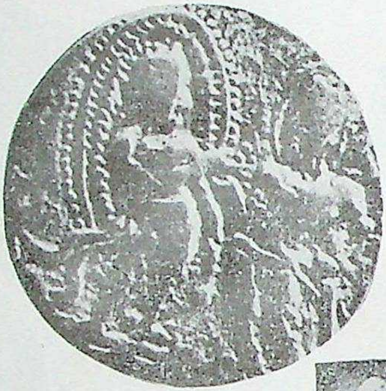

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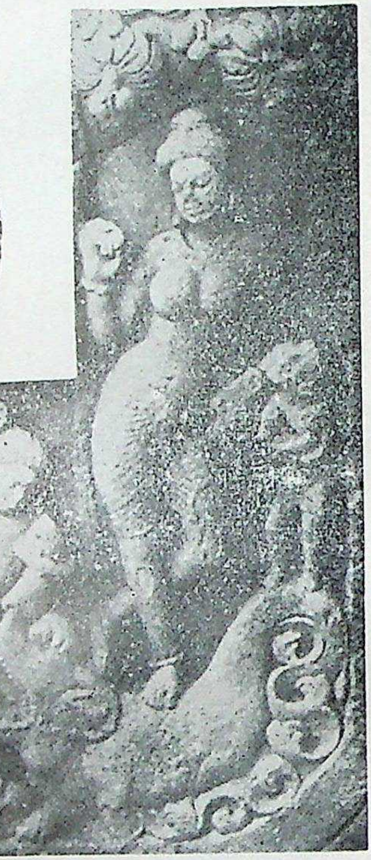

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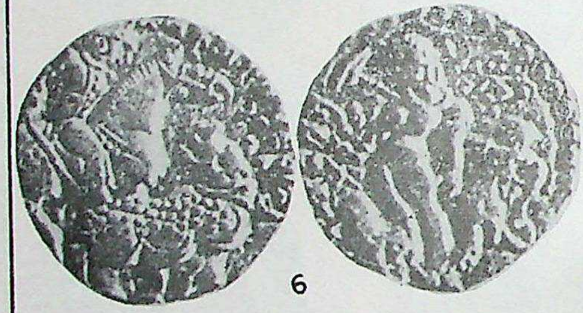

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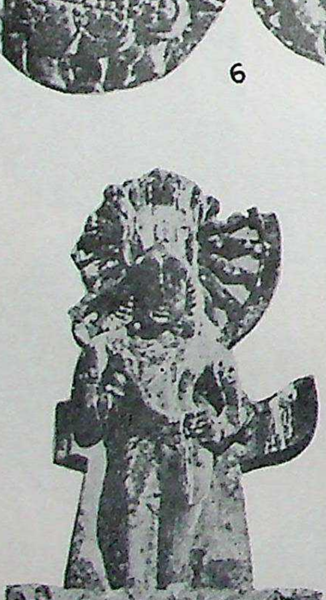

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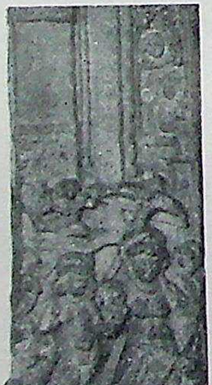

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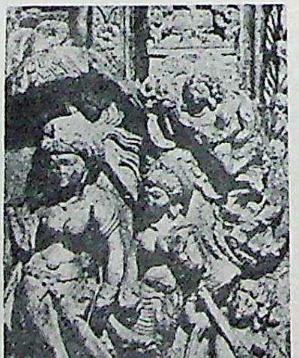

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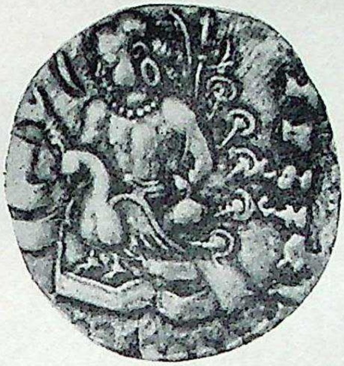

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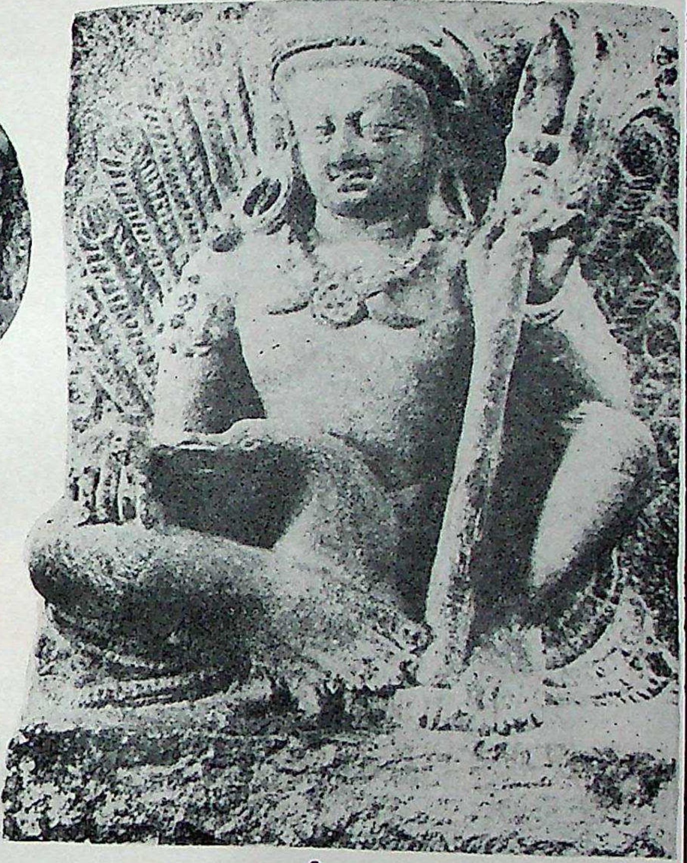

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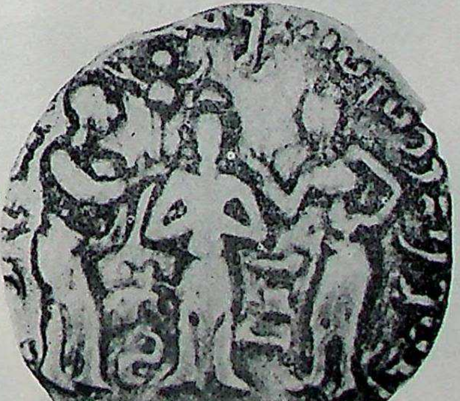

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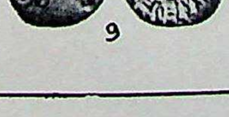

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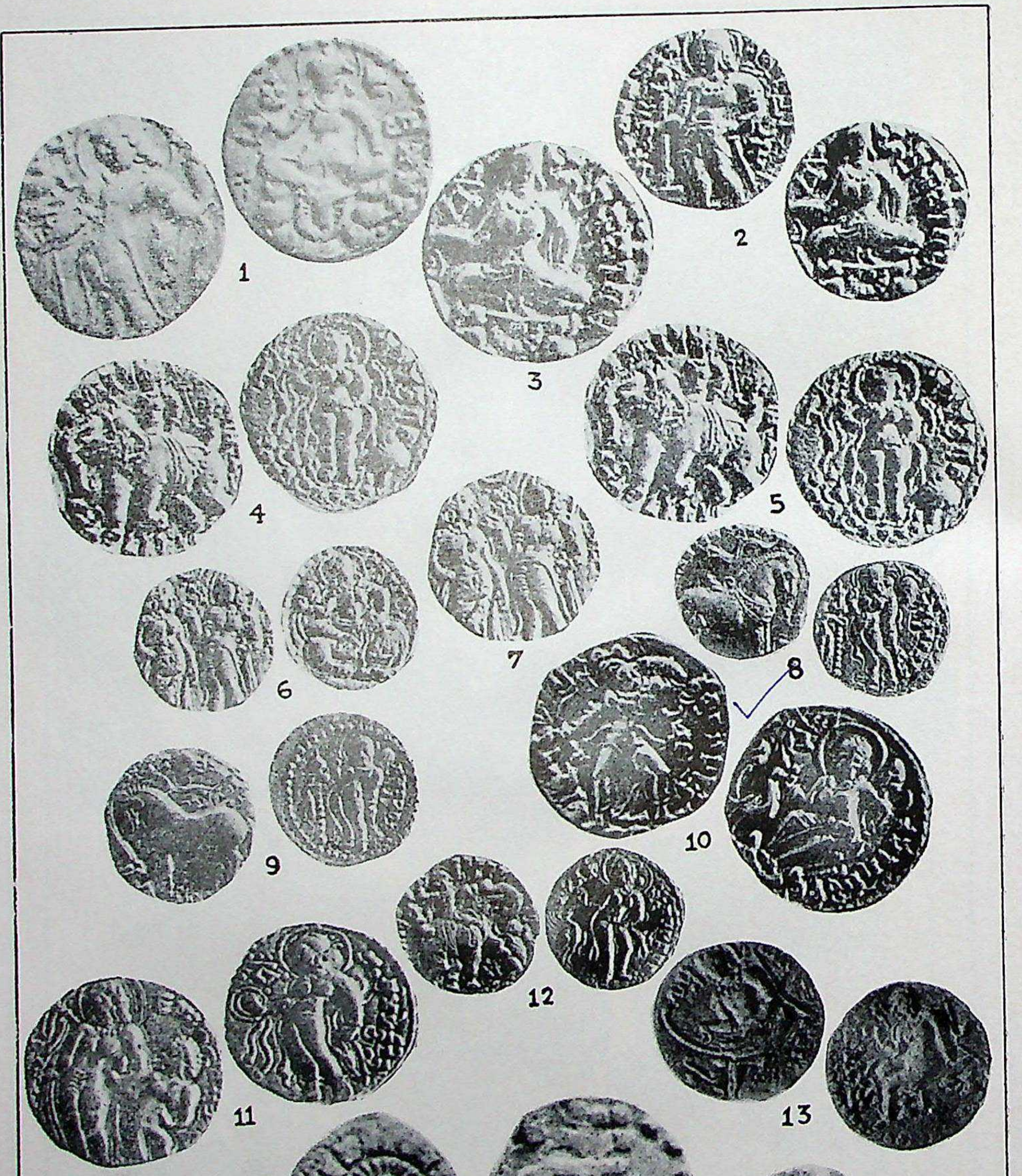
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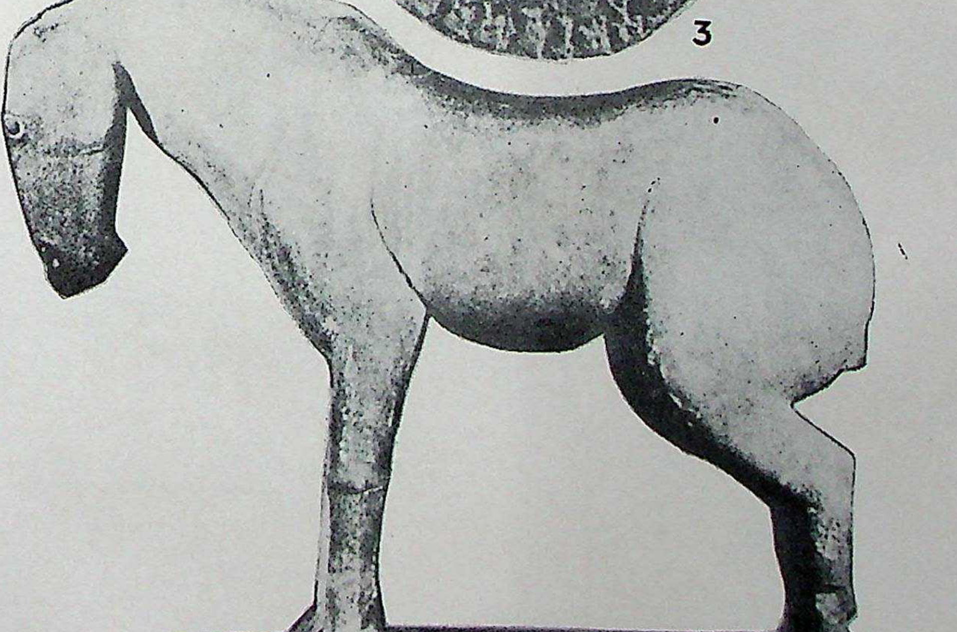

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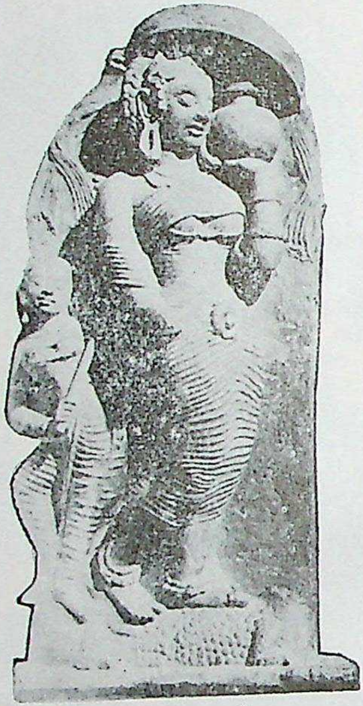

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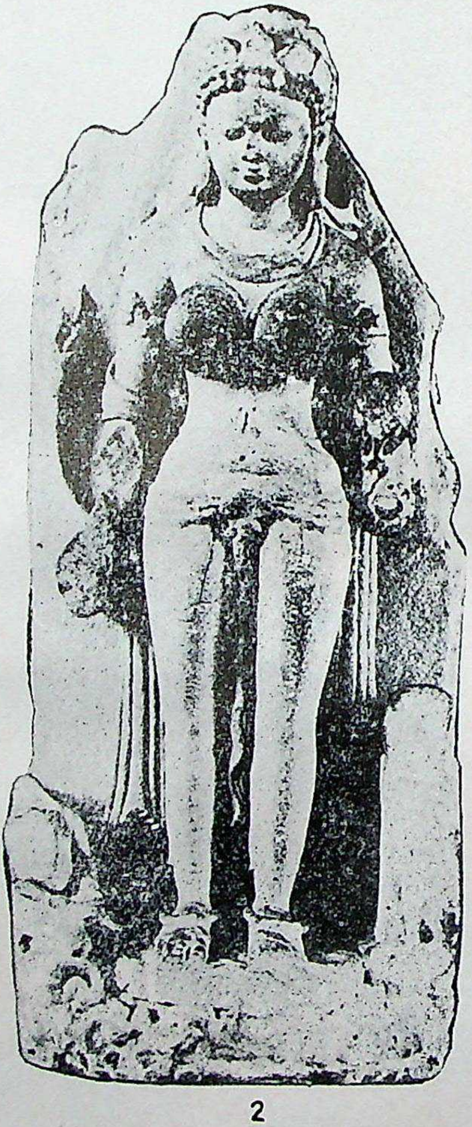

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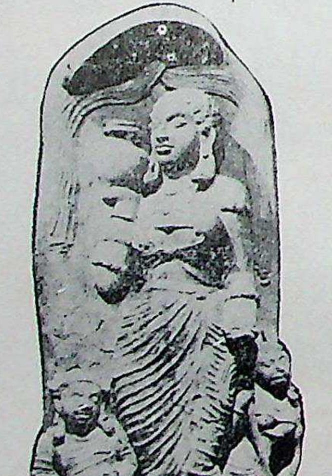

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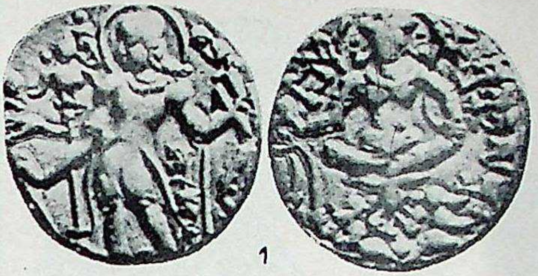
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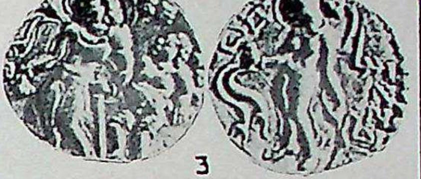
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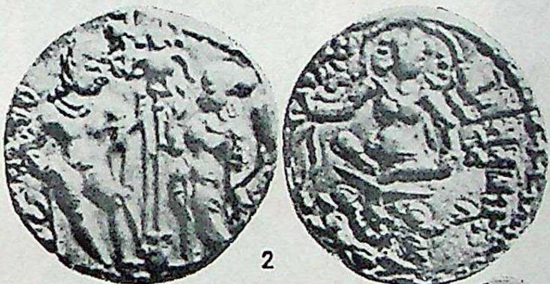
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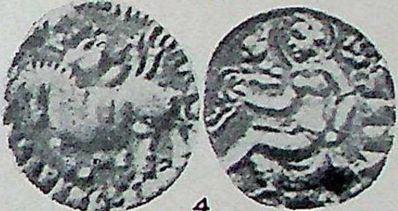
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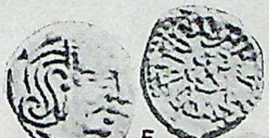
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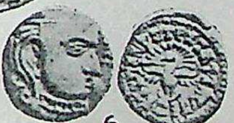
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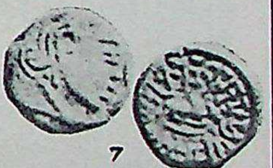
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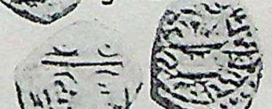
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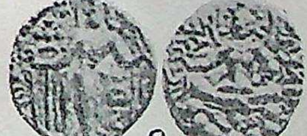
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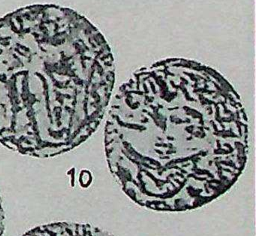
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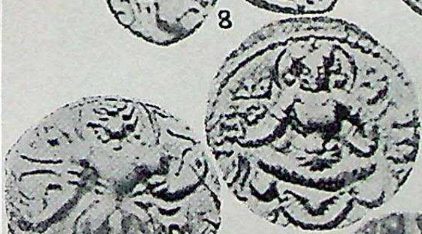
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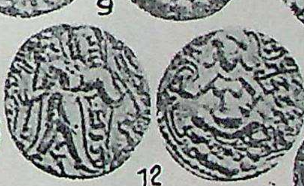
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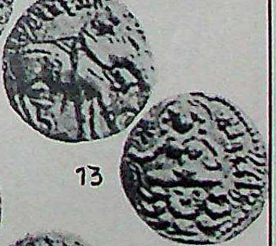
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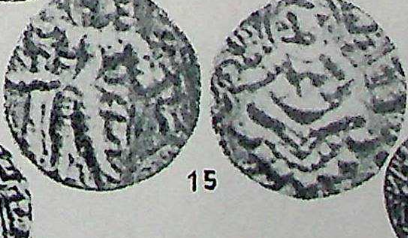
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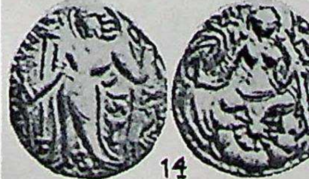
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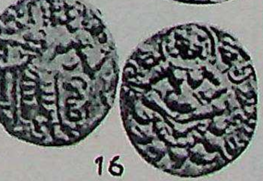
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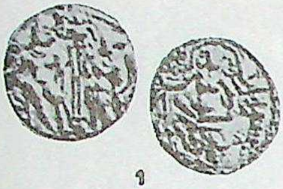
PL IX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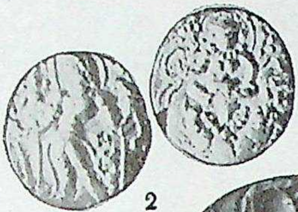
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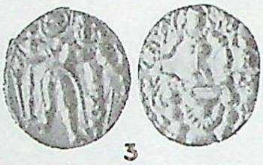
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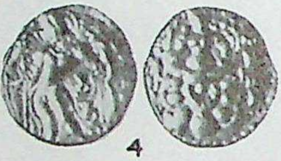
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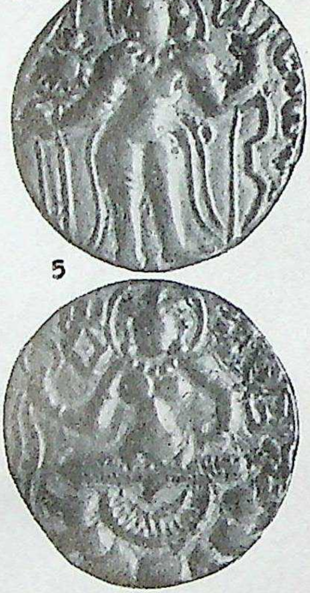
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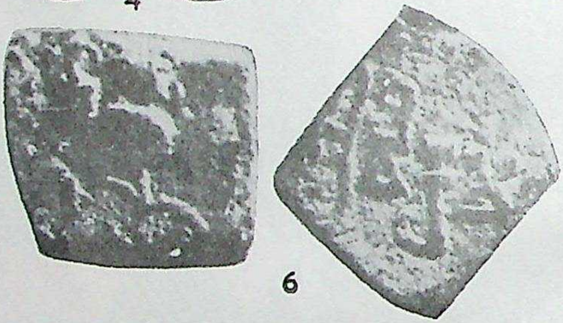
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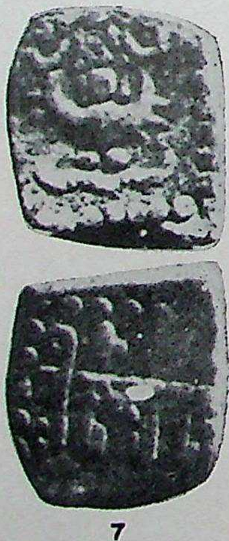
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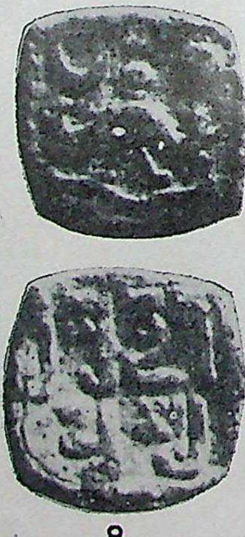
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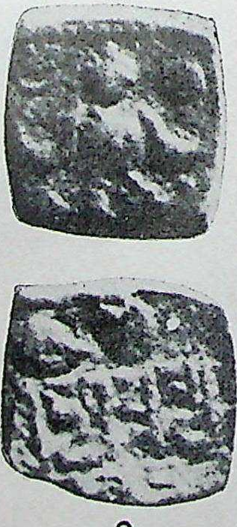
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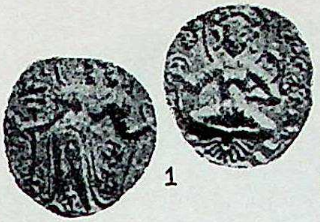
PL X



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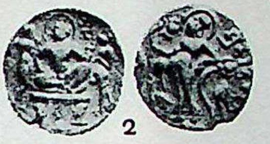

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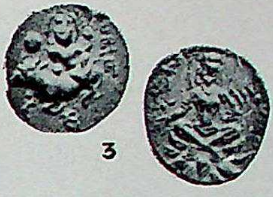

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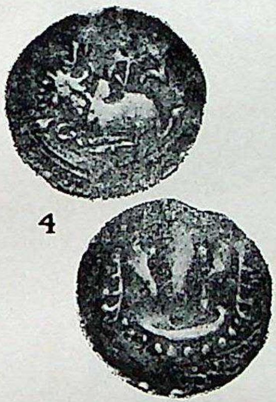

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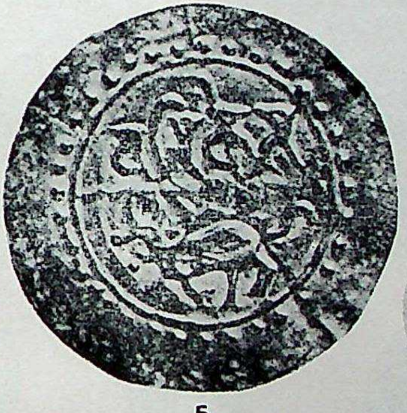

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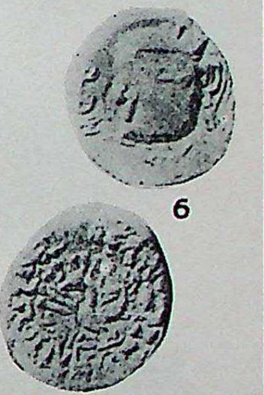

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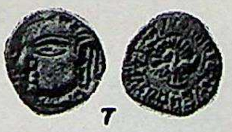

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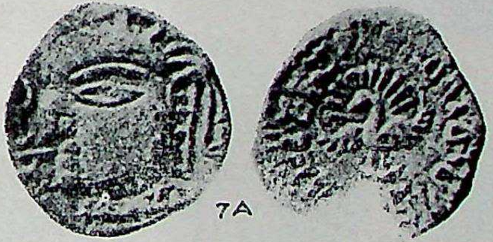

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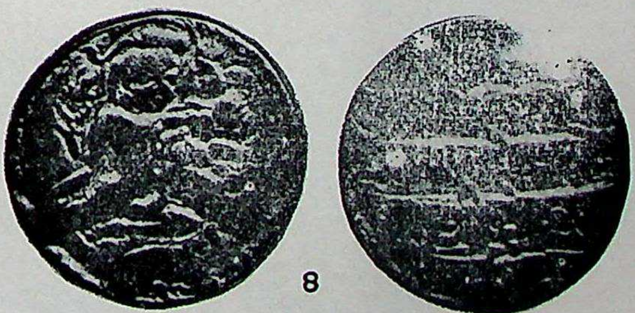

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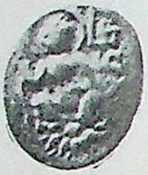
PL XI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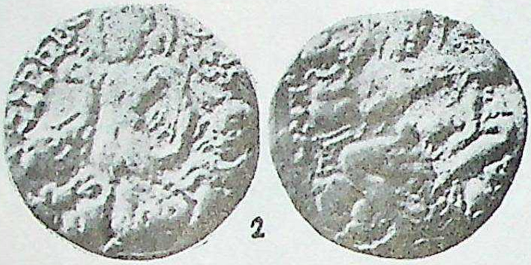
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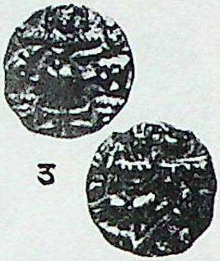
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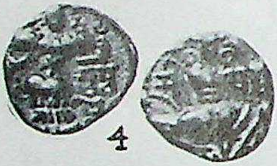
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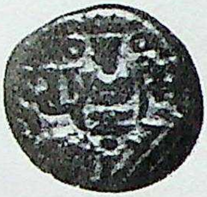
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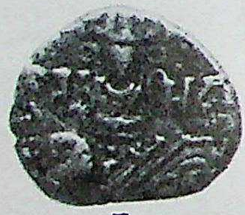
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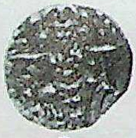
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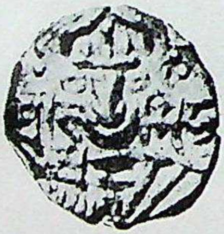
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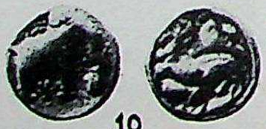
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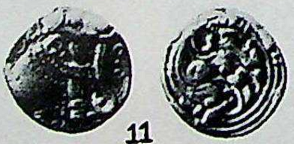
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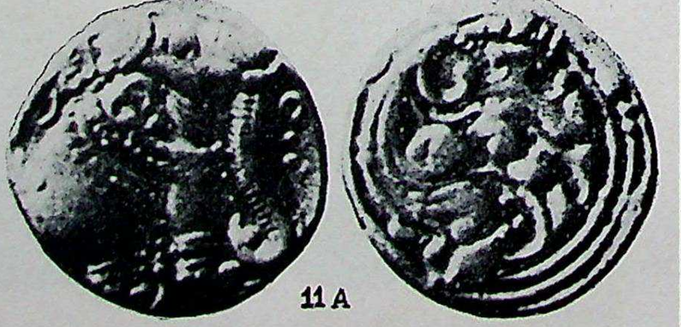
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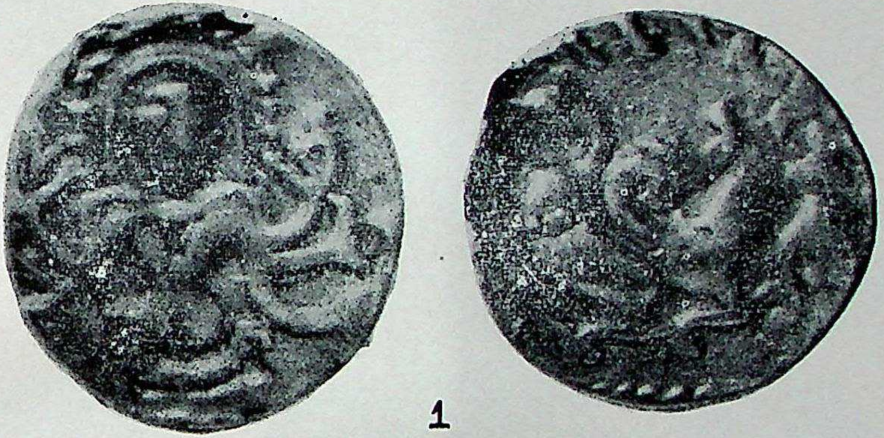
PL XII



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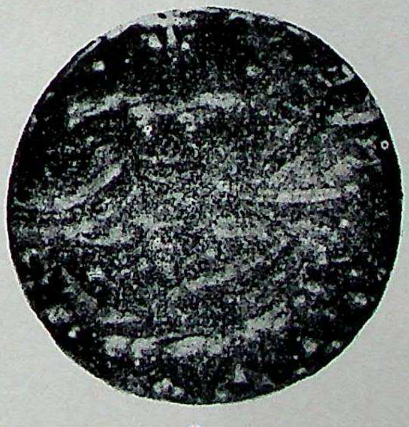

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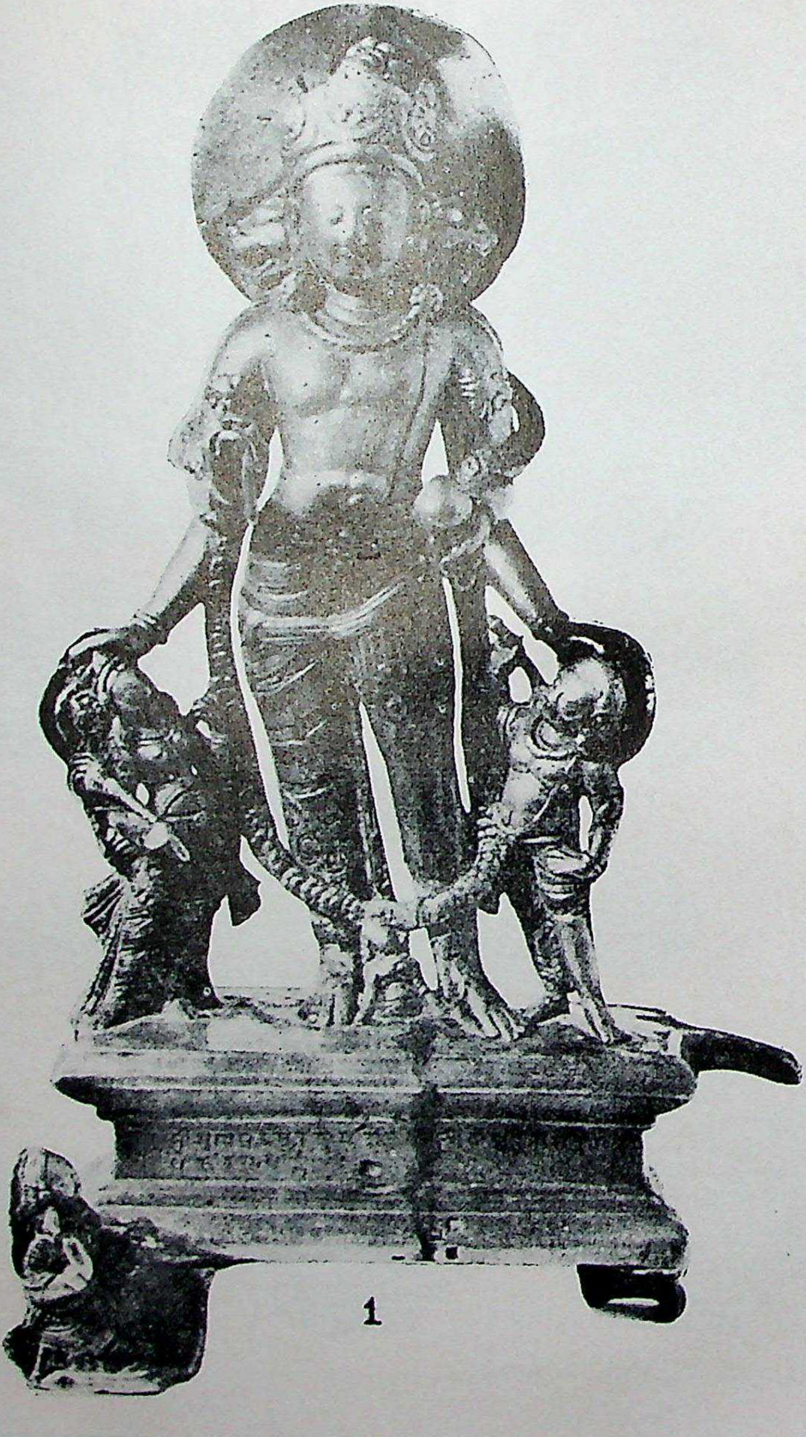
PL XIII



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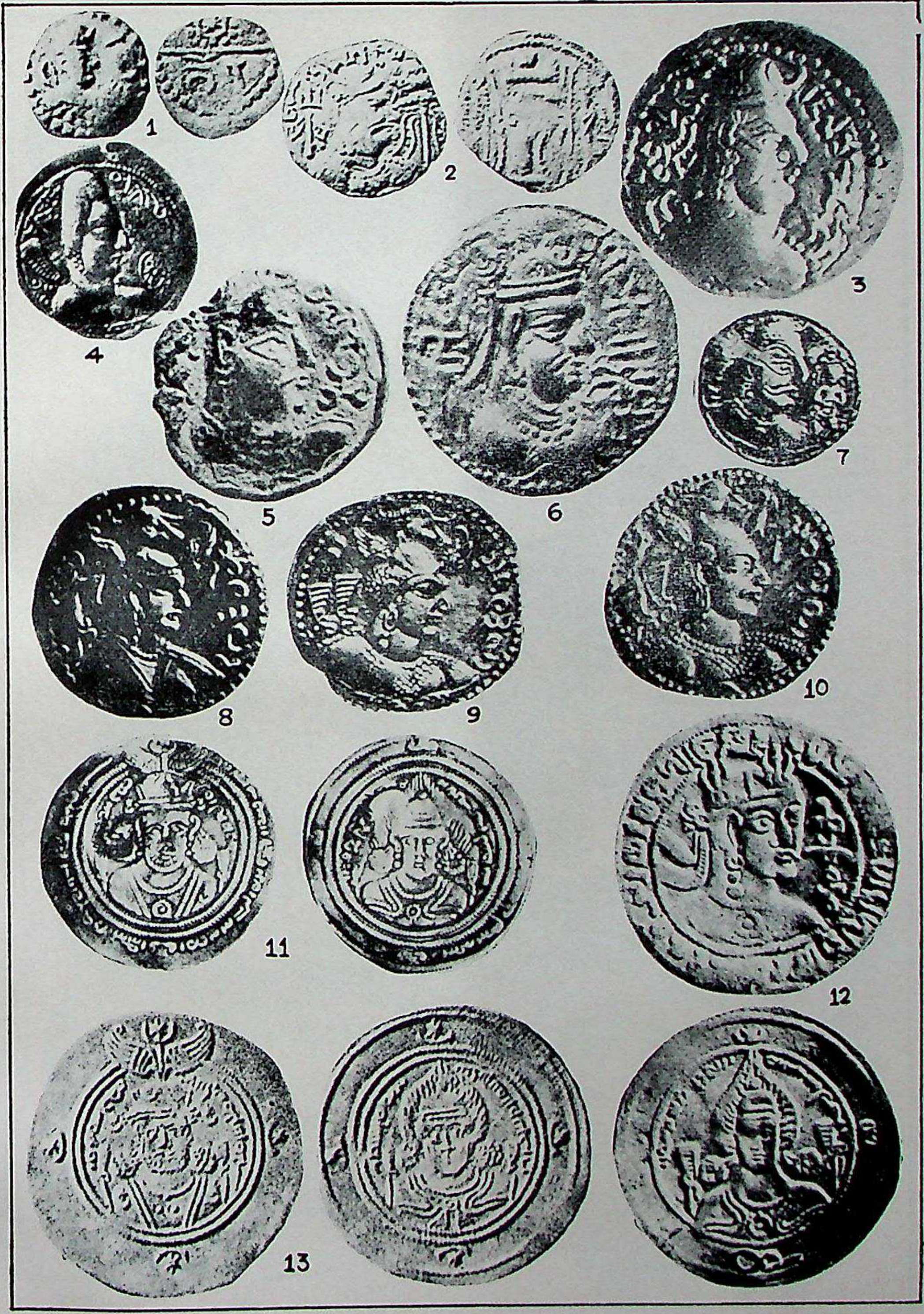
PL XIV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PL XV

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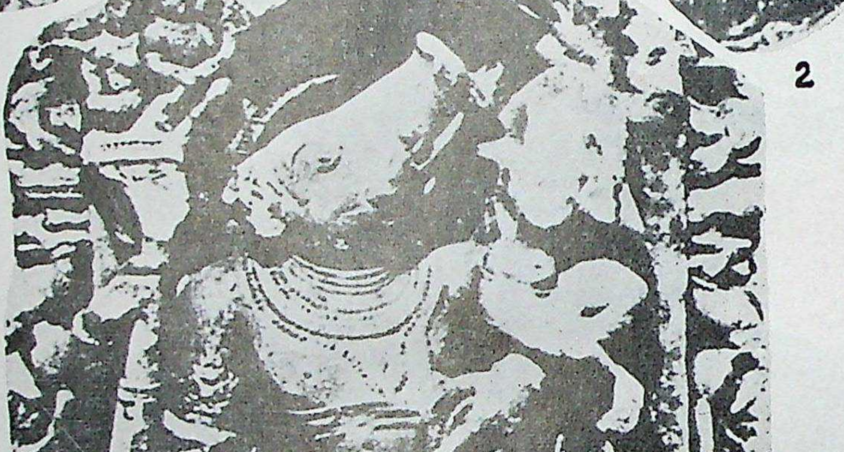

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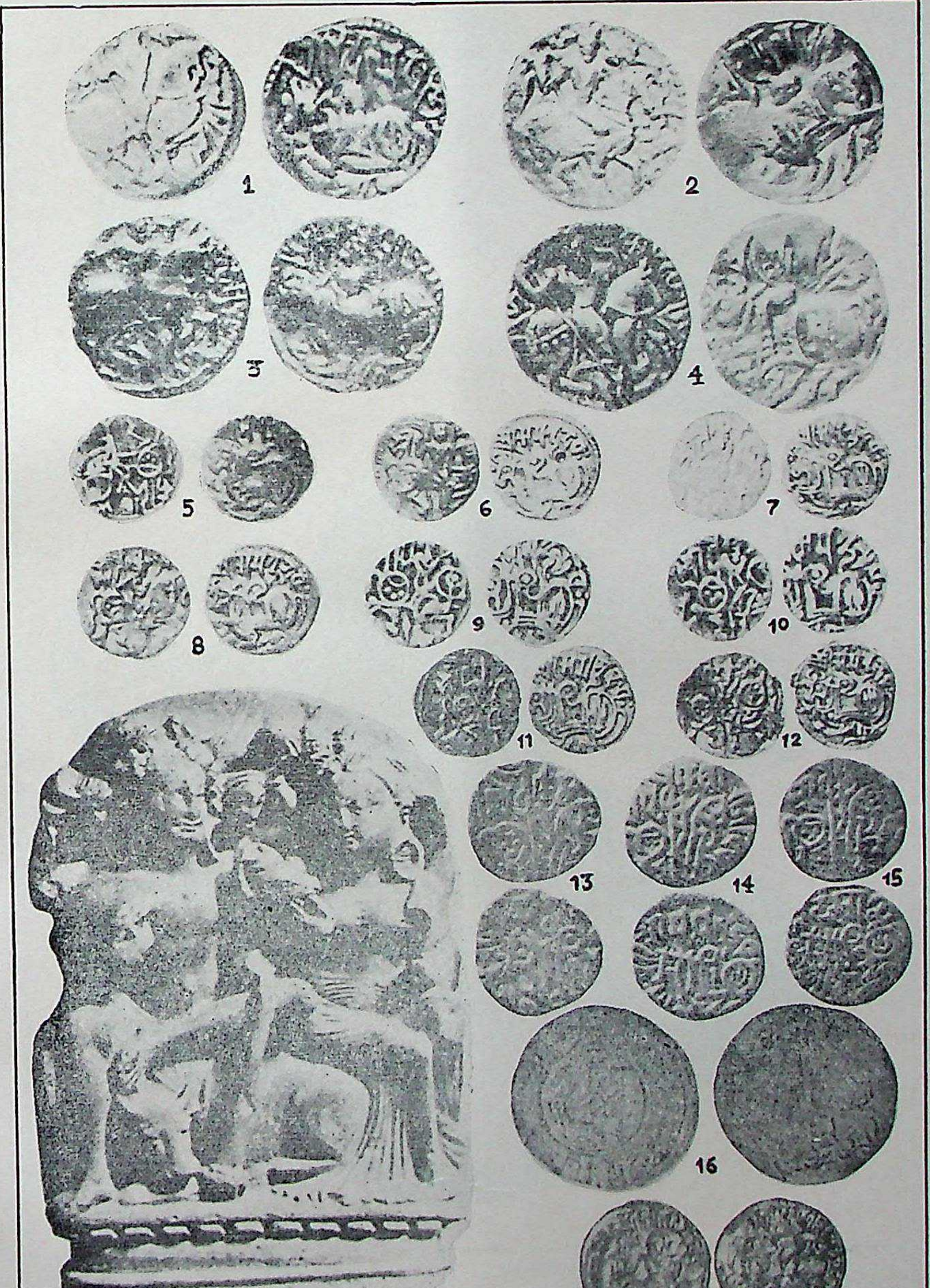
PL XVI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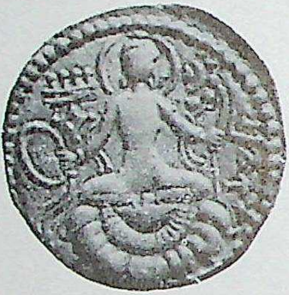
PL XVII



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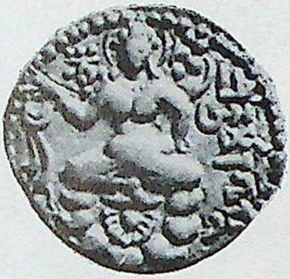

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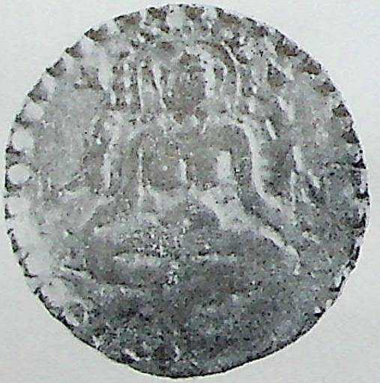

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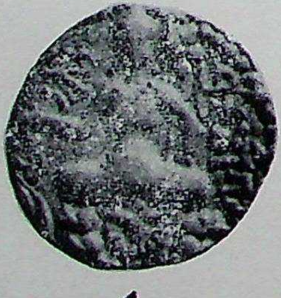

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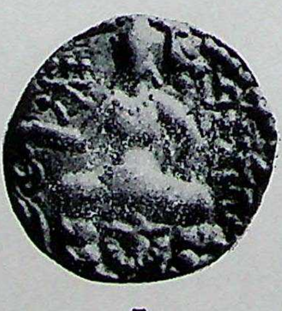

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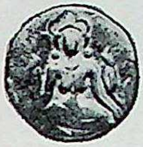
PL XVIII



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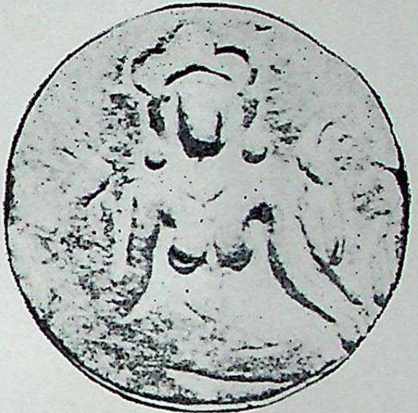

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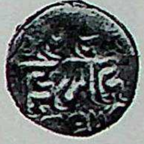

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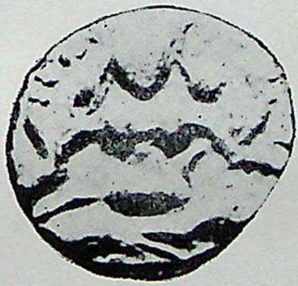

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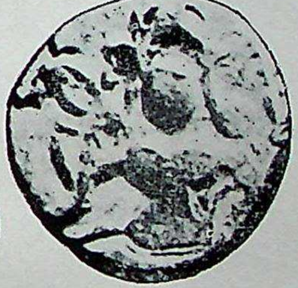

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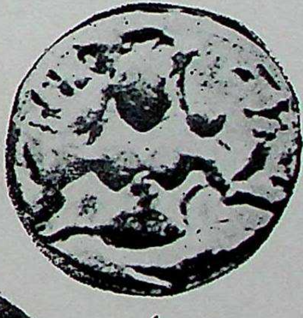

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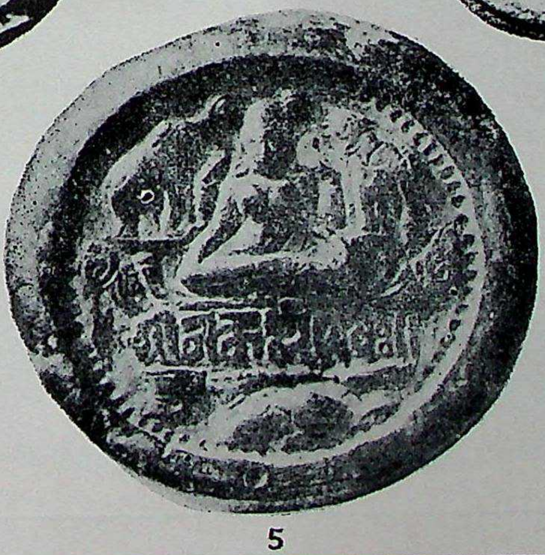

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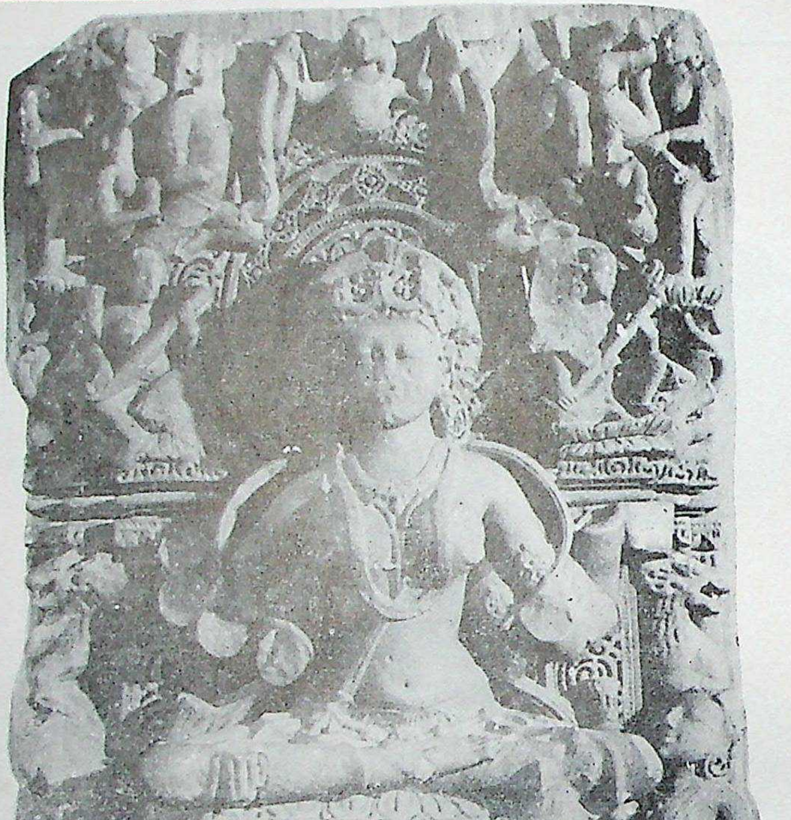
PL XIX



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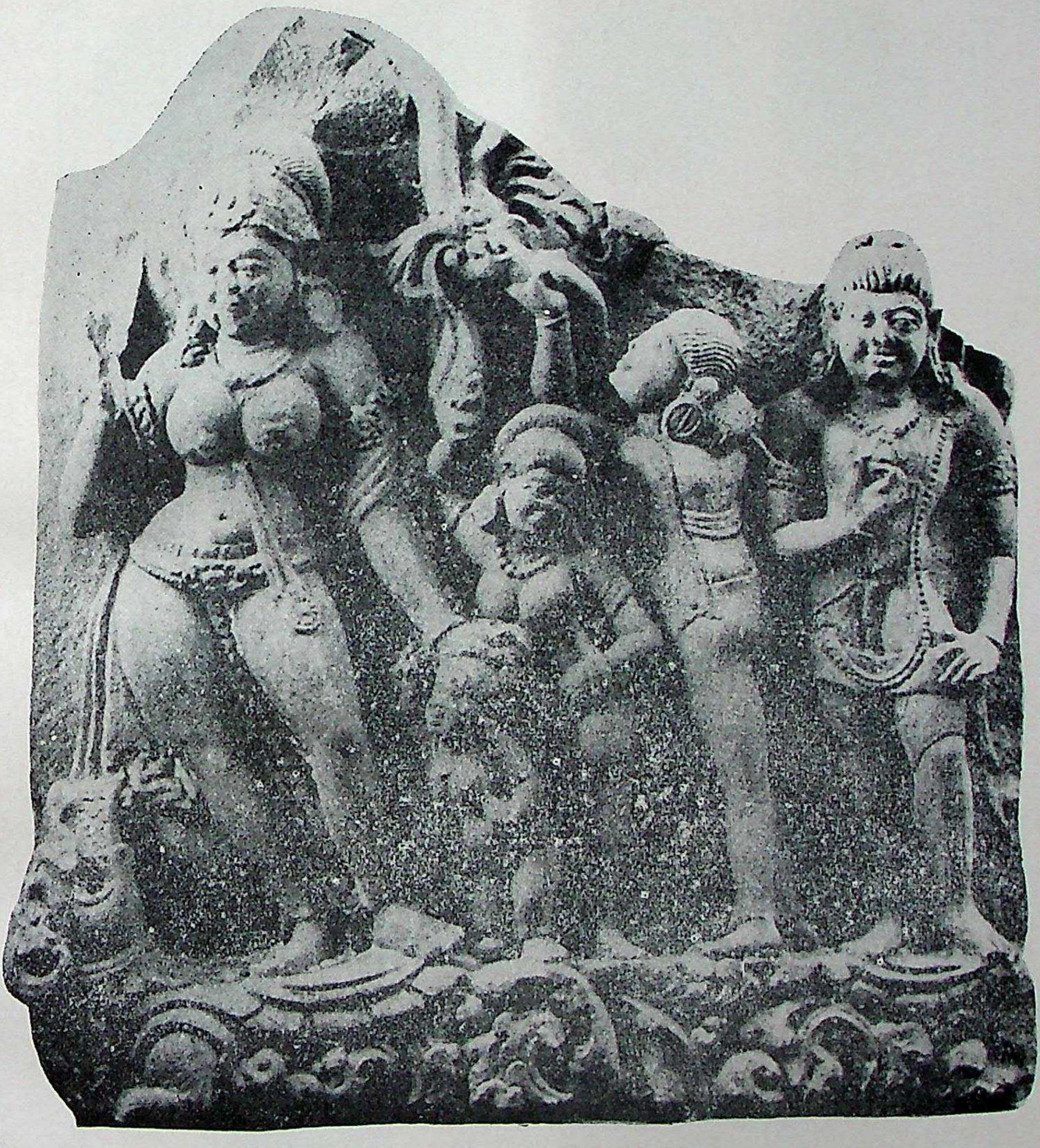
PL XX



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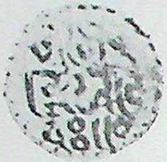
PL XXI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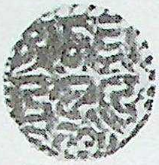
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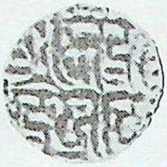
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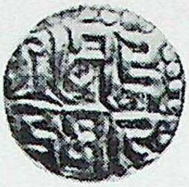
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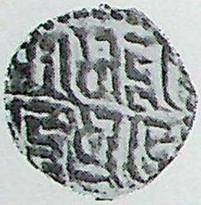
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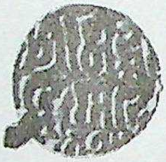
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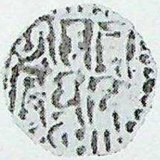
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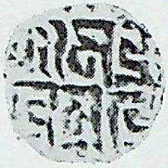
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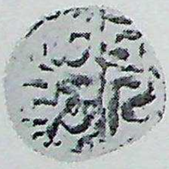
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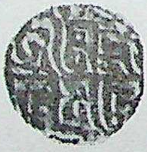
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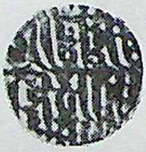
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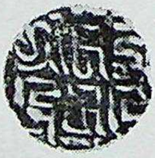
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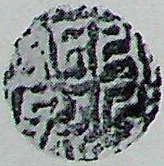
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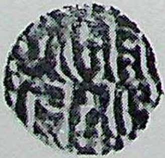
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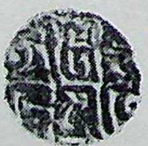
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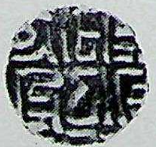
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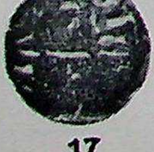
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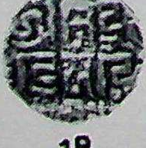
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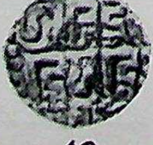
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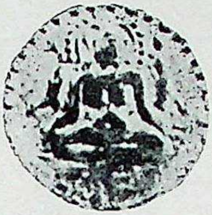
PL XXII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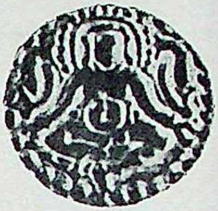
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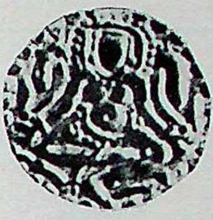
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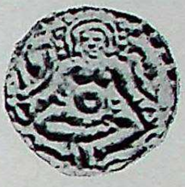
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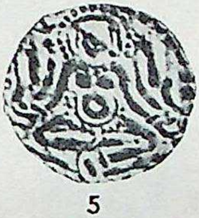
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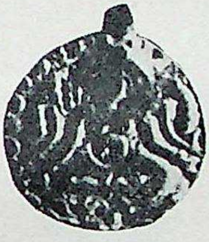
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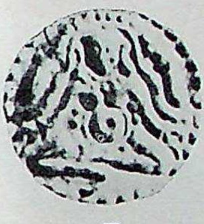
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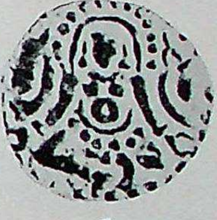
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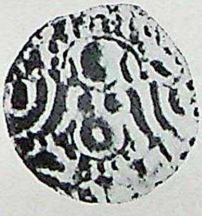
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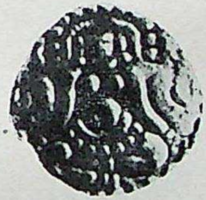
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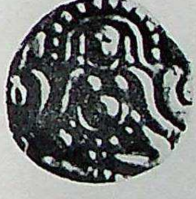
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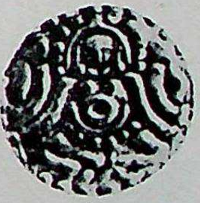
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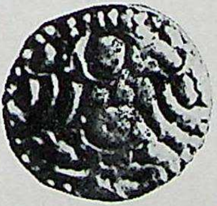
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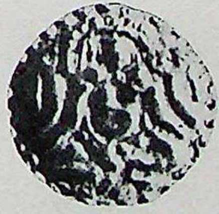
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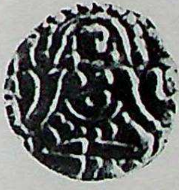
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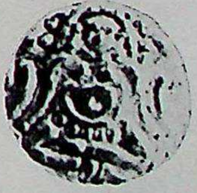
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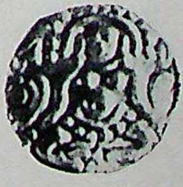
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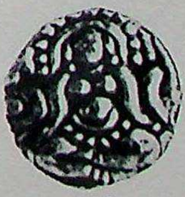
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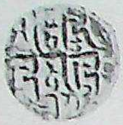
PL XXIII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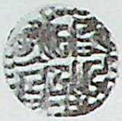
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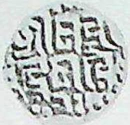
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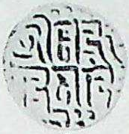
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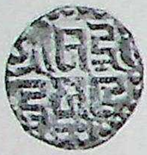
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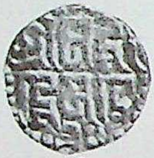
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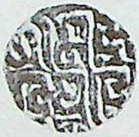
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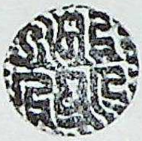
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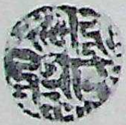
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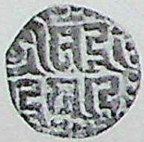
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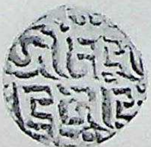
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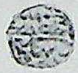
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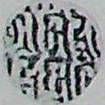
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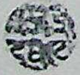
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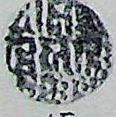
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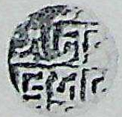
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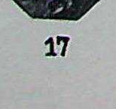
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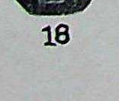
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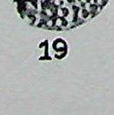
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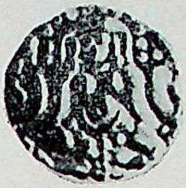
PL XXIV



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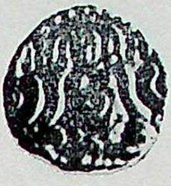

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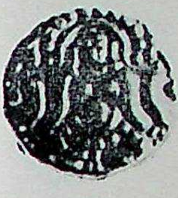

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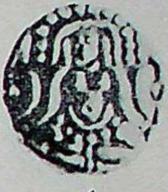

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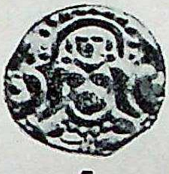

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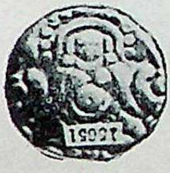

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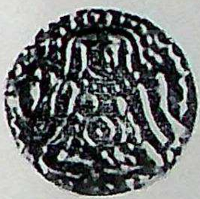

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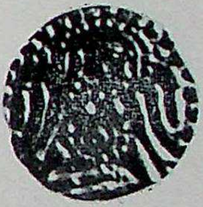

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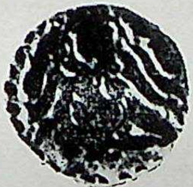

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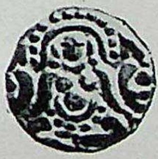

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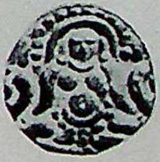

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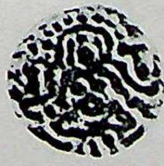

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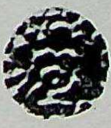

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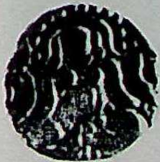

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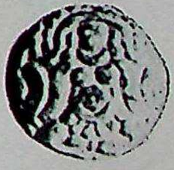

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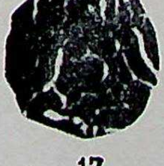

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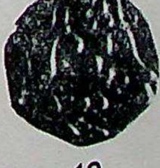

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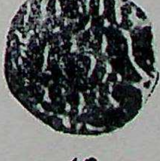

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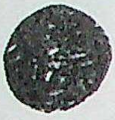
PL XXV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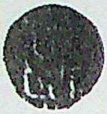
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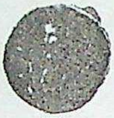
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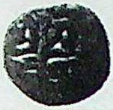
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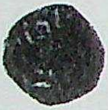
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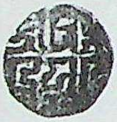
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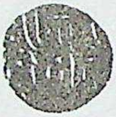
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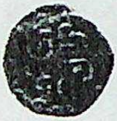
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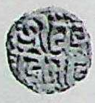
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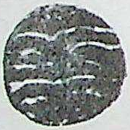
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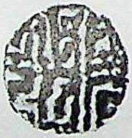
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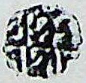
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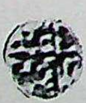
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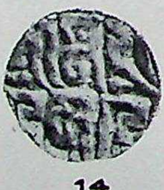
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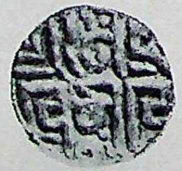
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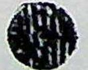
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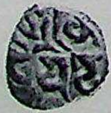
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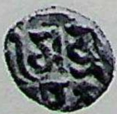
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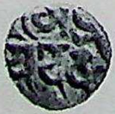
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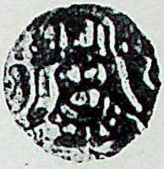
PL XXVI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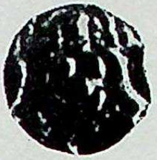
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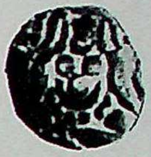
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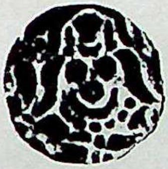
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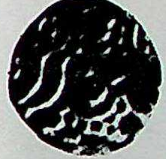
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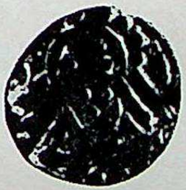
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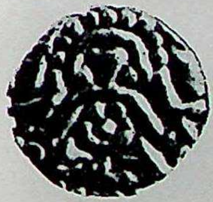
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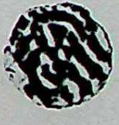
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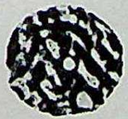
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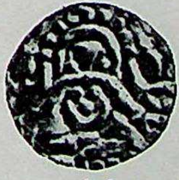
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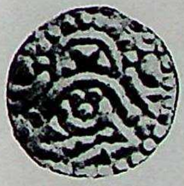
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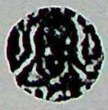
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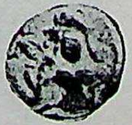
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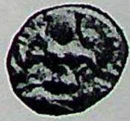
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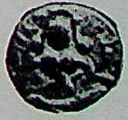
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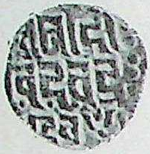
PL XXVII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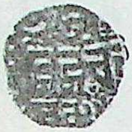
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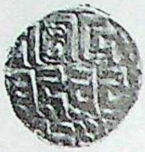
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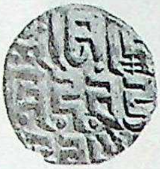
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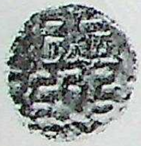
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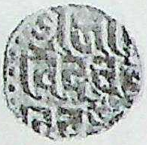
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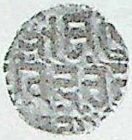
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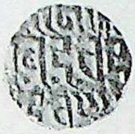
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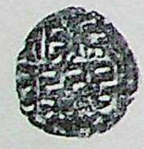
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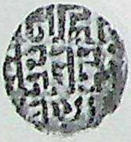
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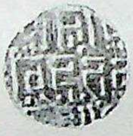
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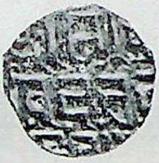
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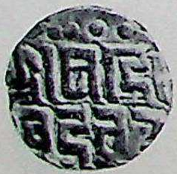
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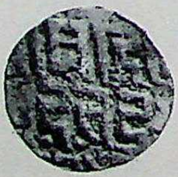
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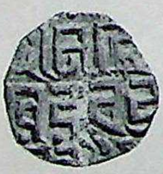
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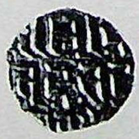
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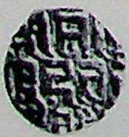
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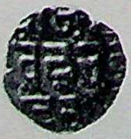
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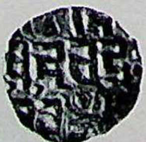
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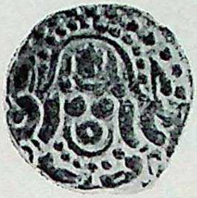
PL XXVIII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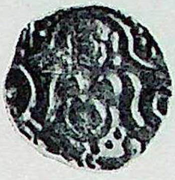
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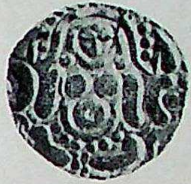
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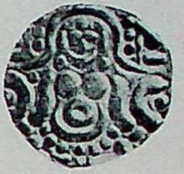
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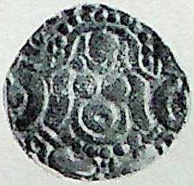
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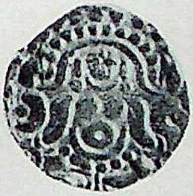
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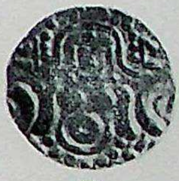
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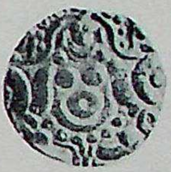
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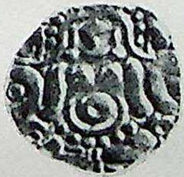
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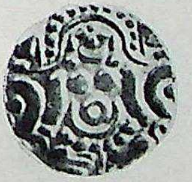
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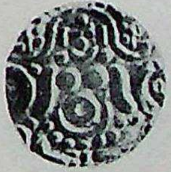
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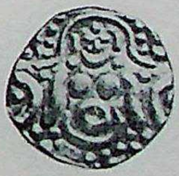
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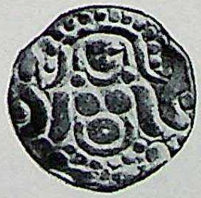
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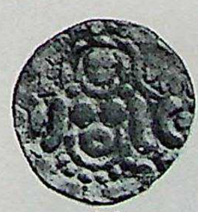
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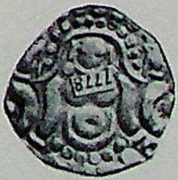
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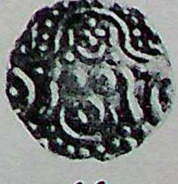
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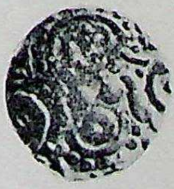
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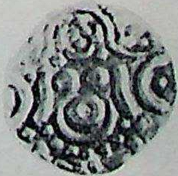
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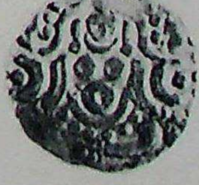
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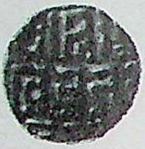
PL. XXIX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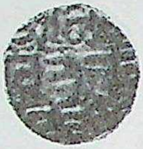
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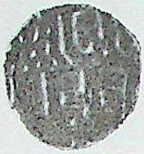
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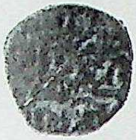
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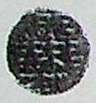
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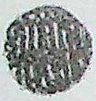
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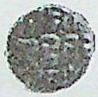
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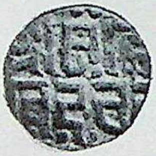
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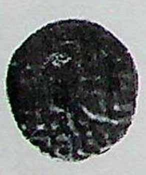
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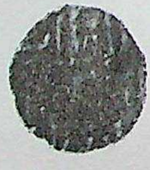
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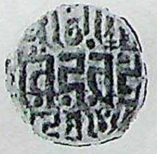
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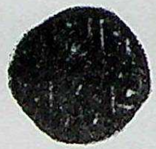
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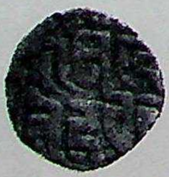
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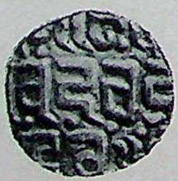
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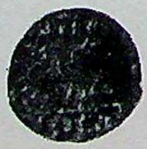
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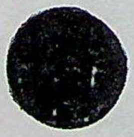
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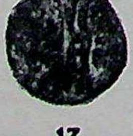
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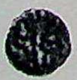
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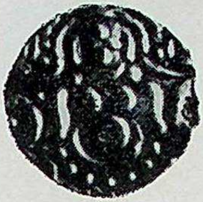
PL XXX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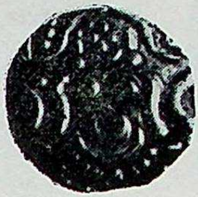
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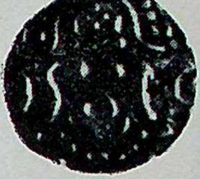
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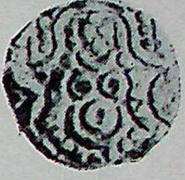
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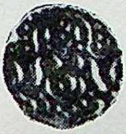
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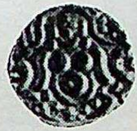
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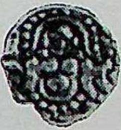
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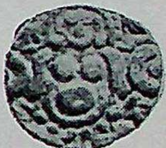
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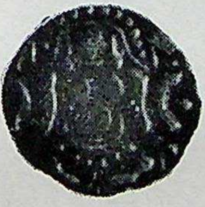
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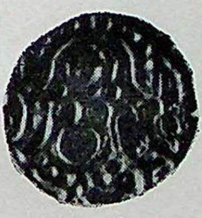
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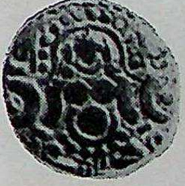
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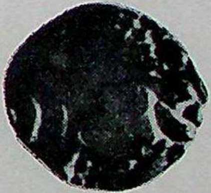
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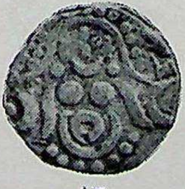
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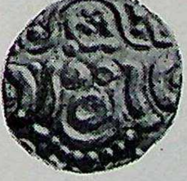
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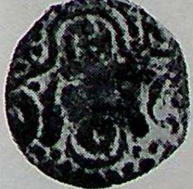
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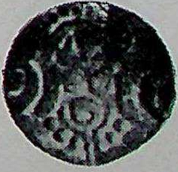
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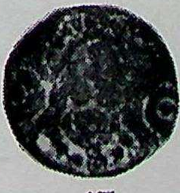
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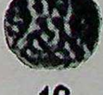
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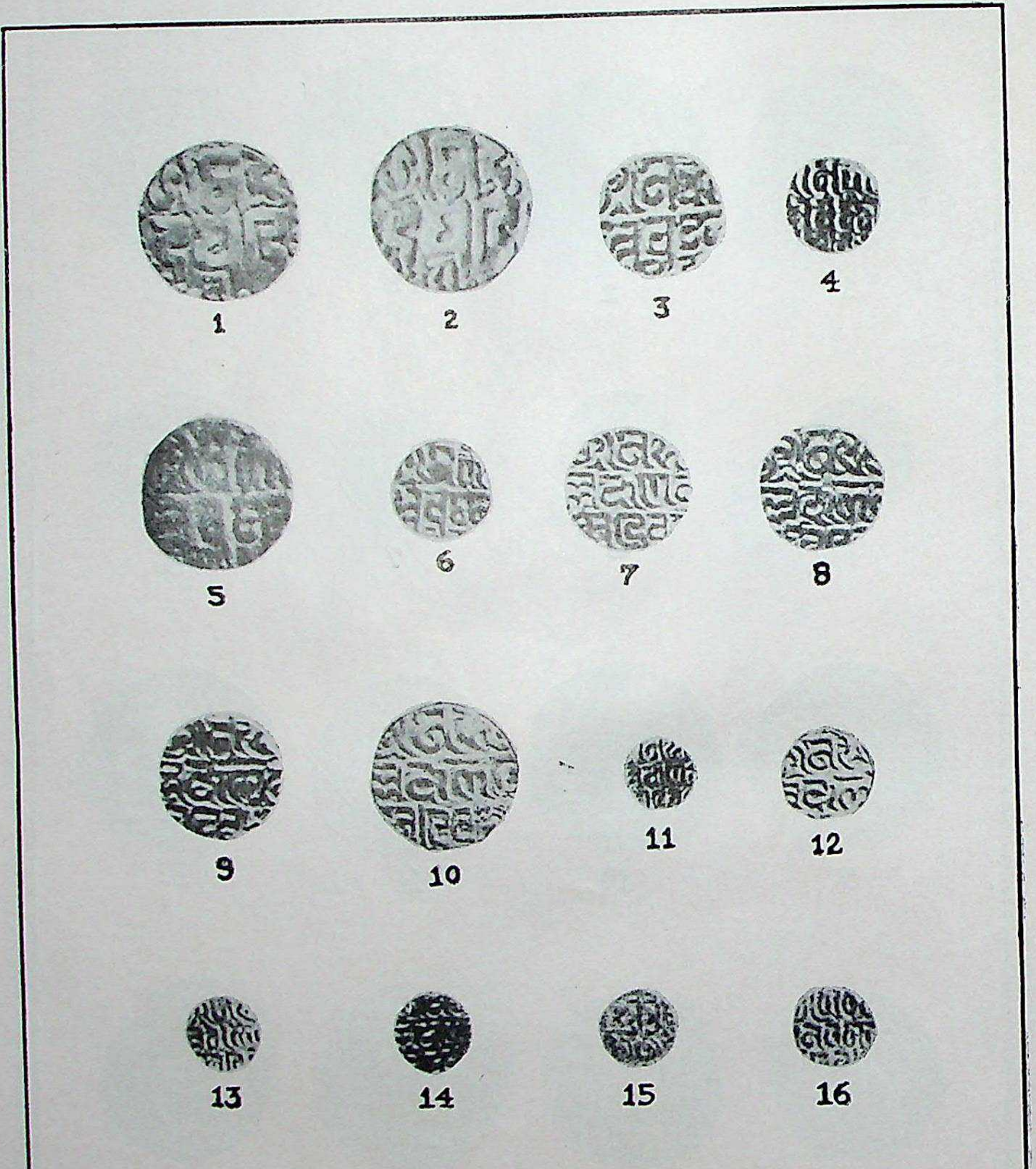
PL XXXI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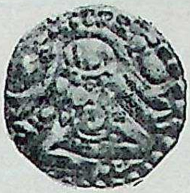
PL XXXII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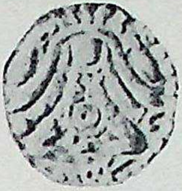
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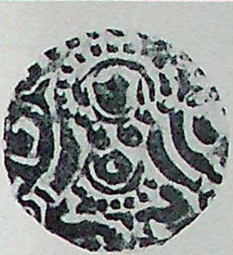
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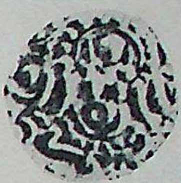
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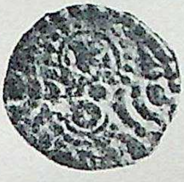
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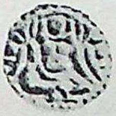
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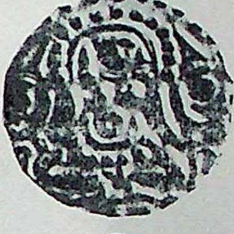
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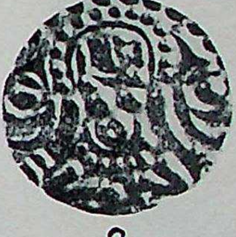
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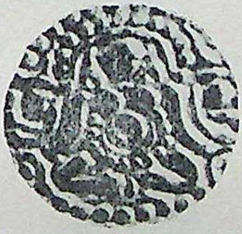
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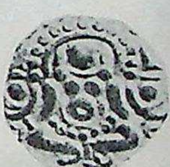
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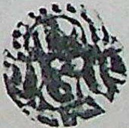
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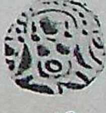
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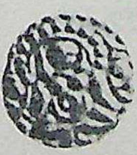
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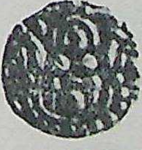
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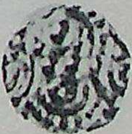
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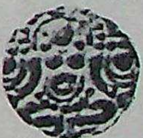
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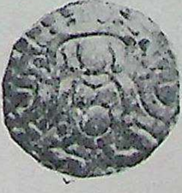
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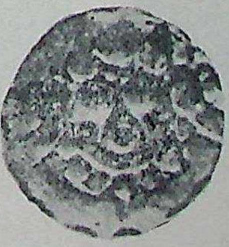
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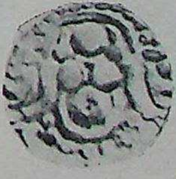
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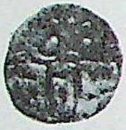
PL XXXIII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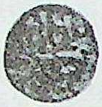
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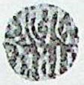
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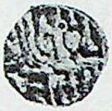
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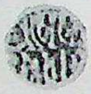
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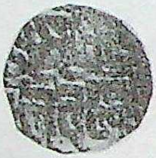
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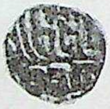
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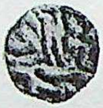
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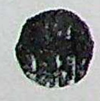
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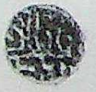
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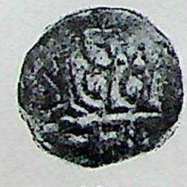
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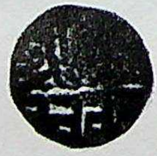
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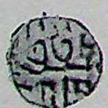
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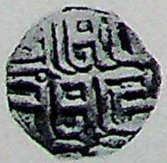
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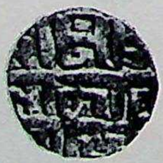
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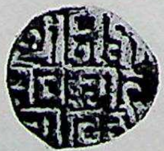
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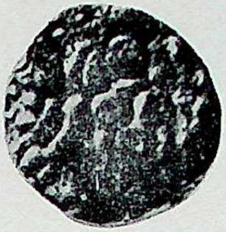
PL XXXIV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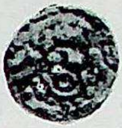
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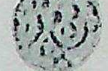
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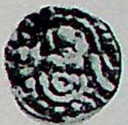
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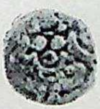
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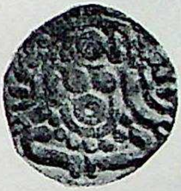
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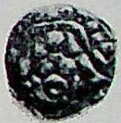
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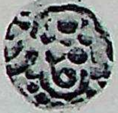
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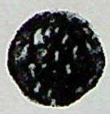
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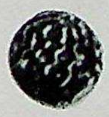
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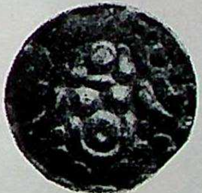
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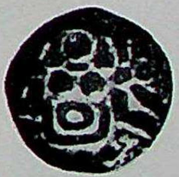
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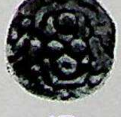
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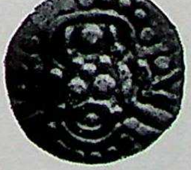
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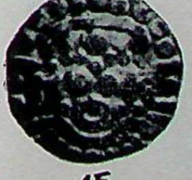
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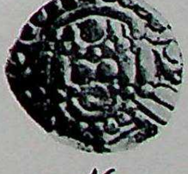
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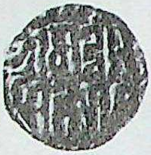
PL XXXV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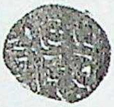
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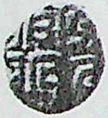
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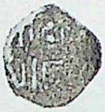
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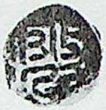
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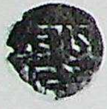
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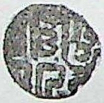
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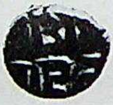
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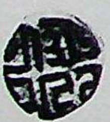
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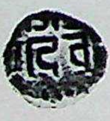
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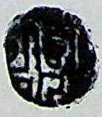
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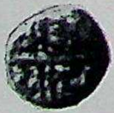
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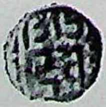
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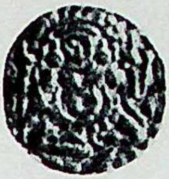
PL XXXVI



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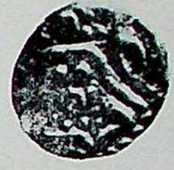

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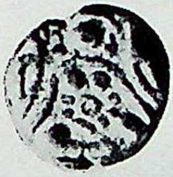

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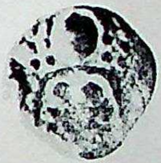

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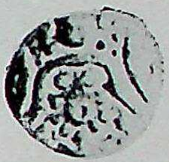

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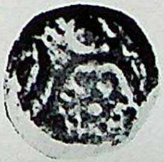

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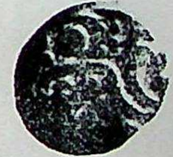

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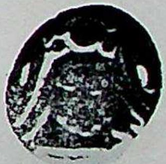

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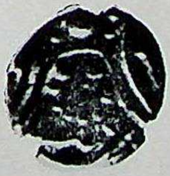

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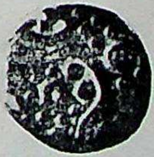

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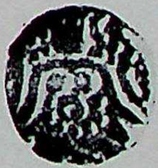

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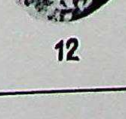

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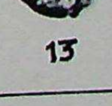

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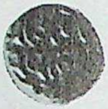
PL XXXVII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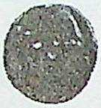
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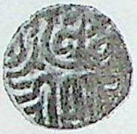
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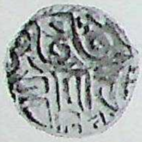
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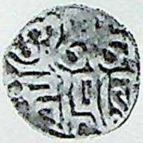
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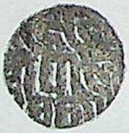
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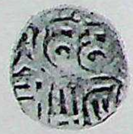
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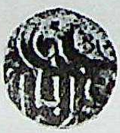
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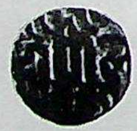
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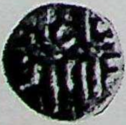
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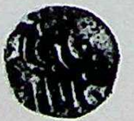
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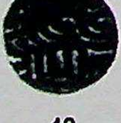
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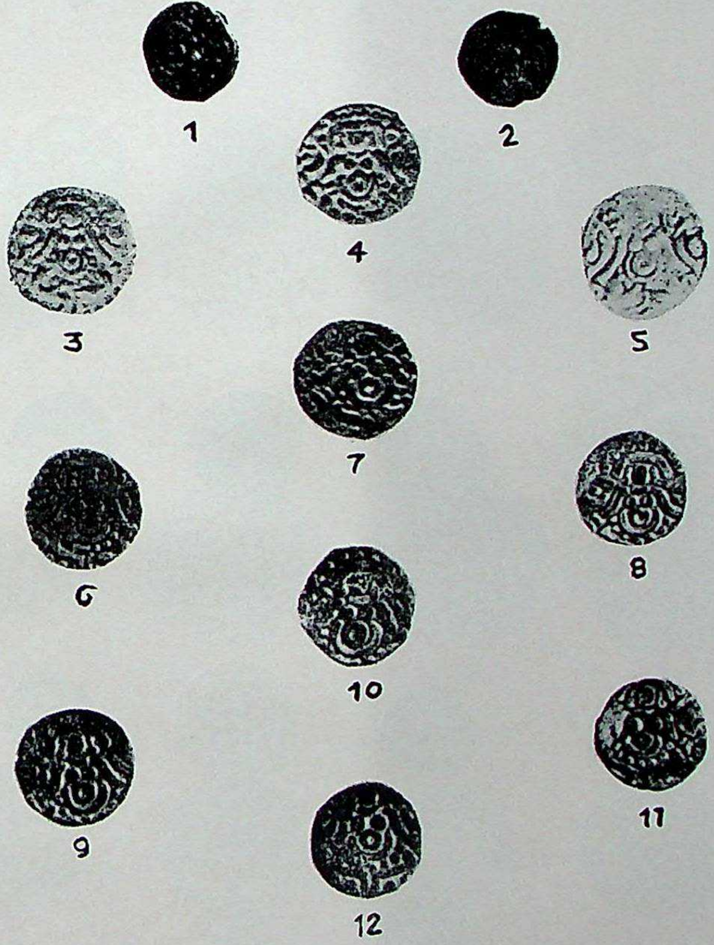
PL XXXVIII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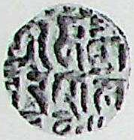
PL XXXIX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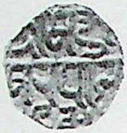
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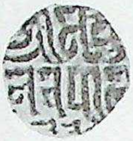
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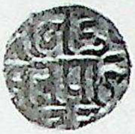
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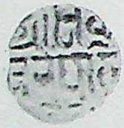
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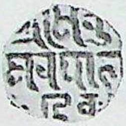
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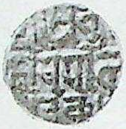
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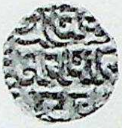
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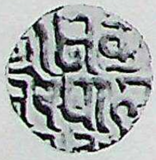
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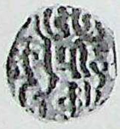
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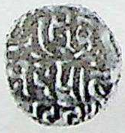
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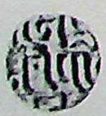
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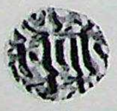
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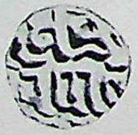
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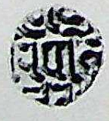
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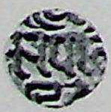
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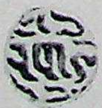
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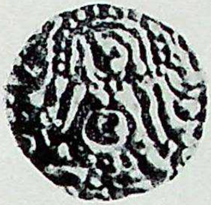
PL XL



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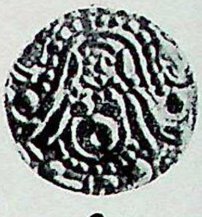

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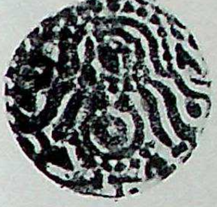

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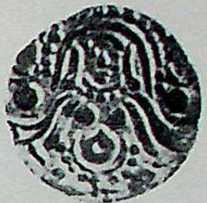

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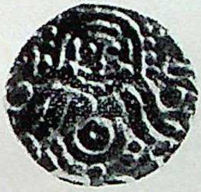

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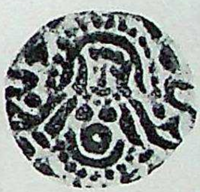

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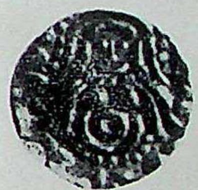

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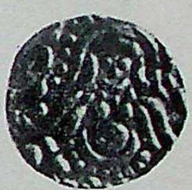

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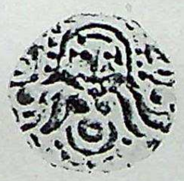

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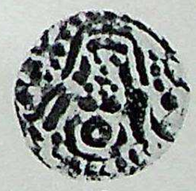

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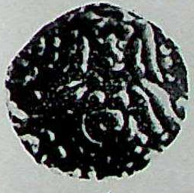

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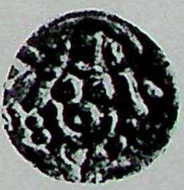

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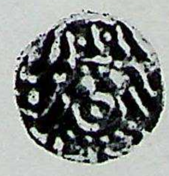

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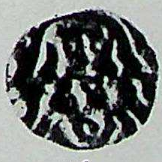

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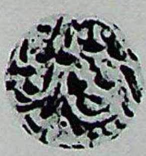

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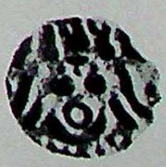

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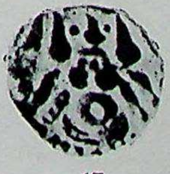

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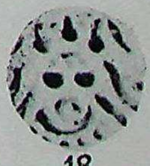

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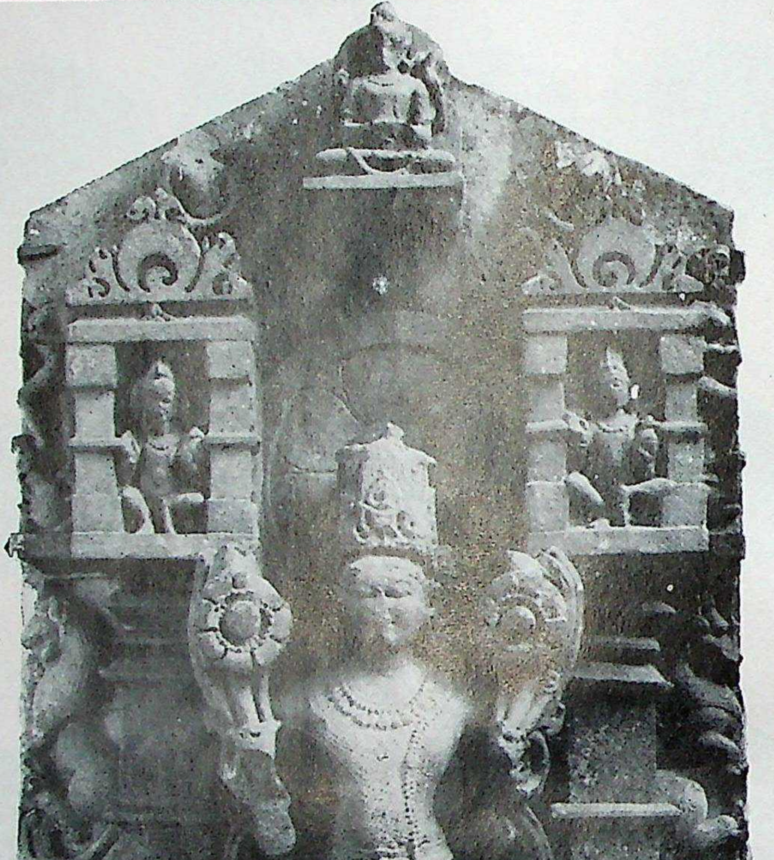
PL XLI



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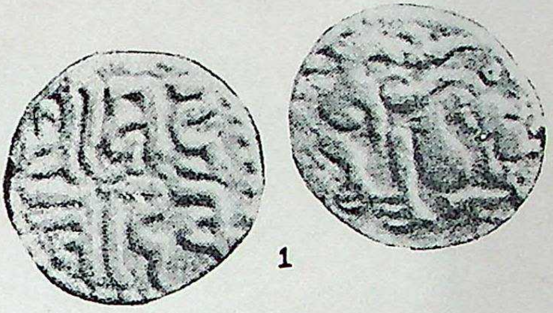
PL XLII



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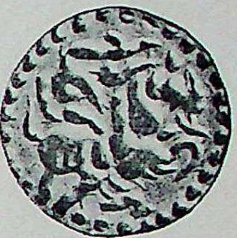

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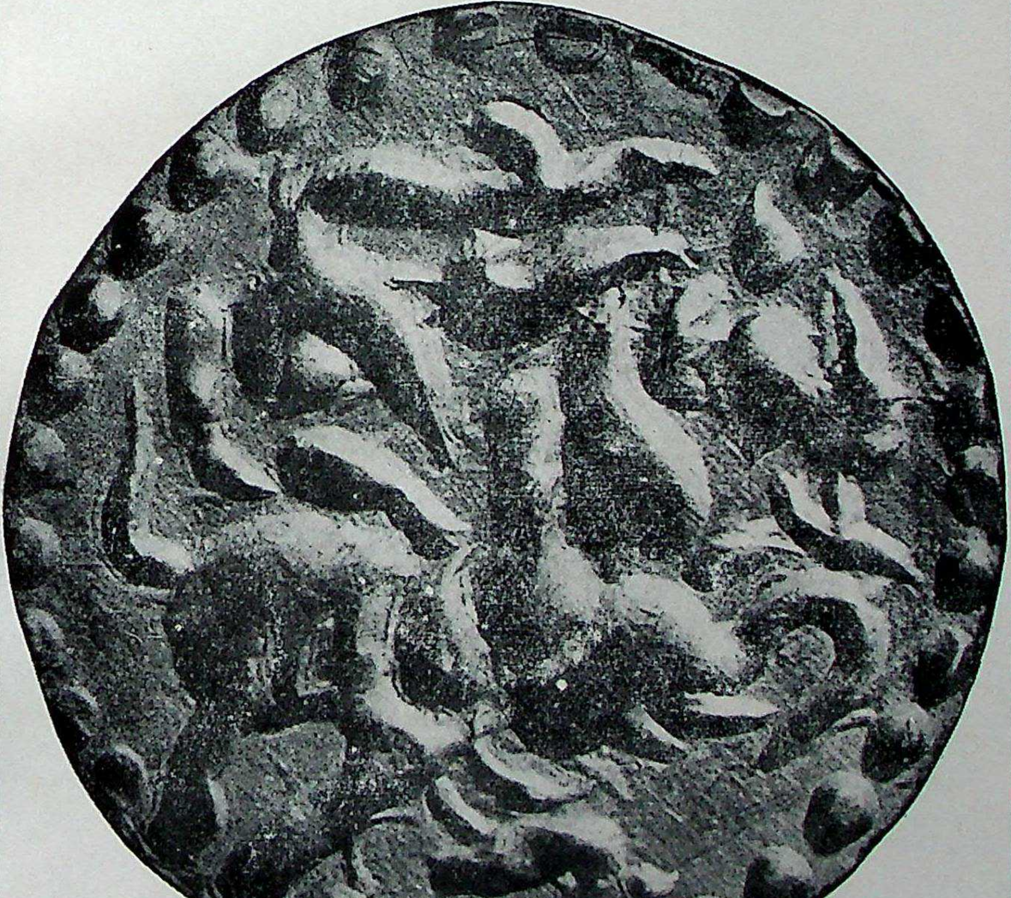

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PL XLIII

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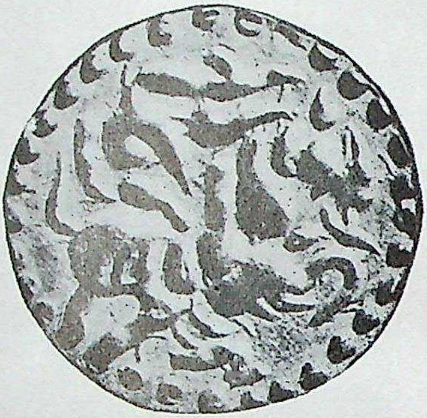

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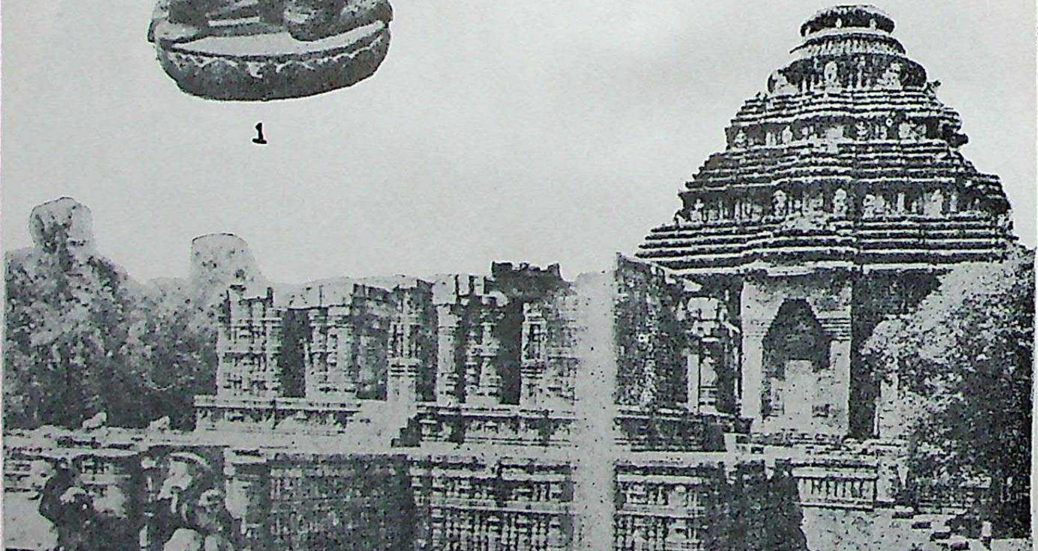

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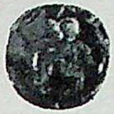
PL XLIV



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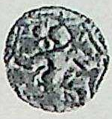

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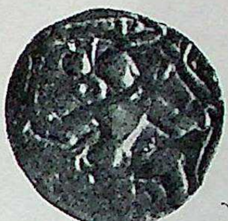

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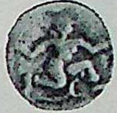

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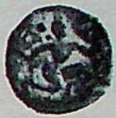

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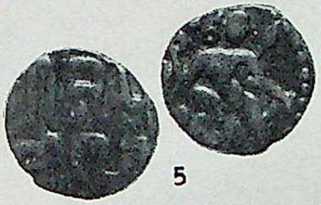

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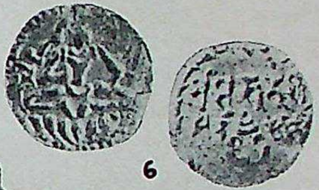

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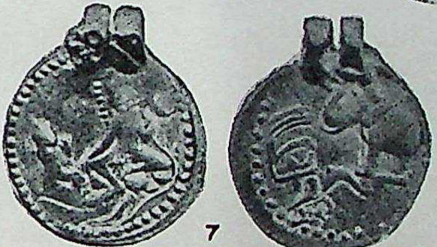

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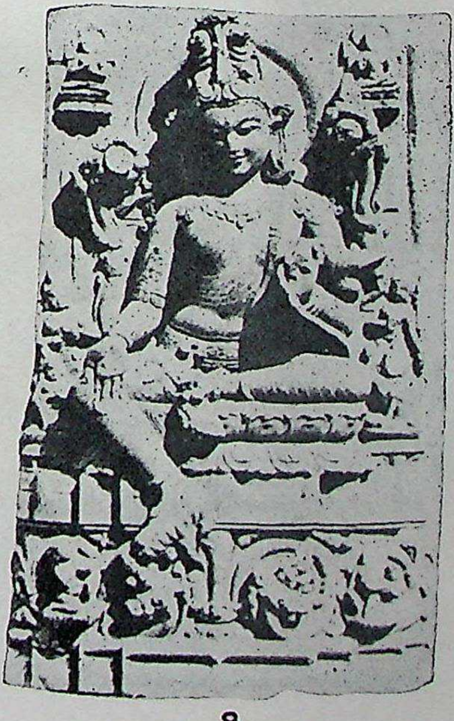

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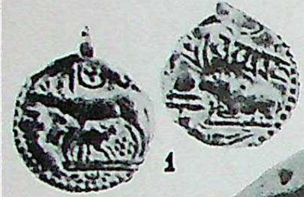
PL XLV



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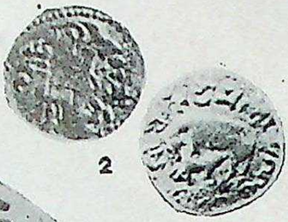

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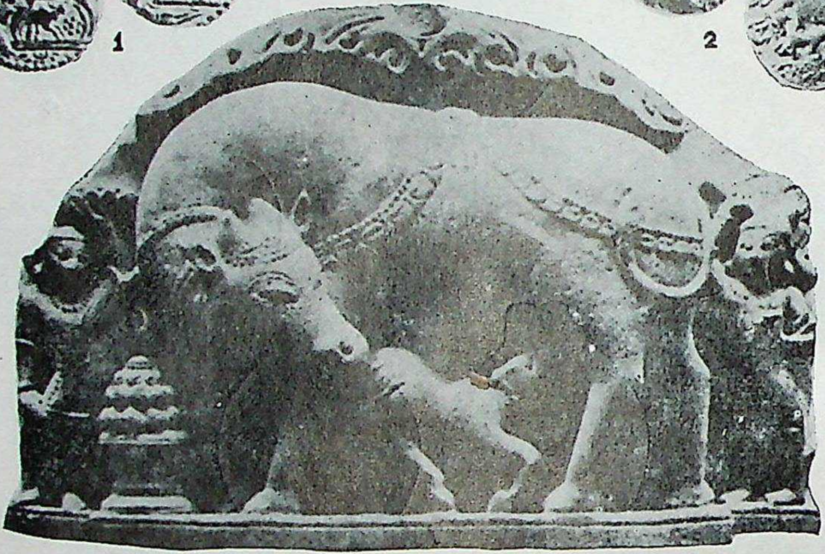

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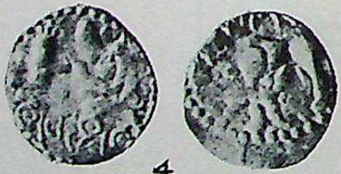

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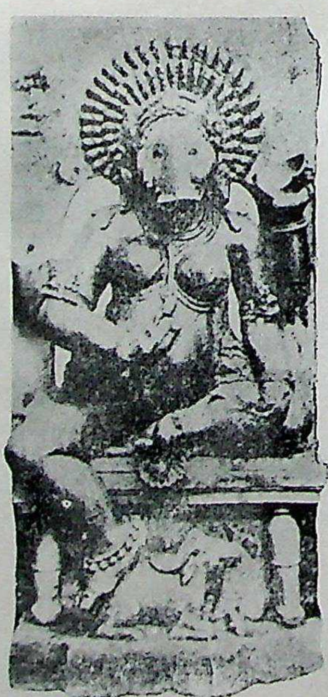

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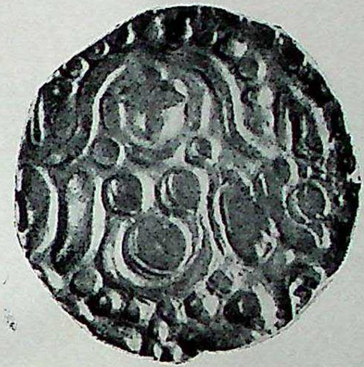

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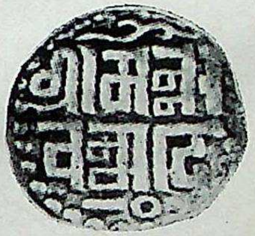

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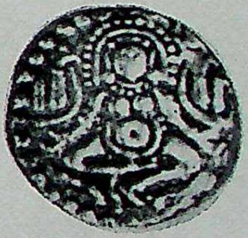

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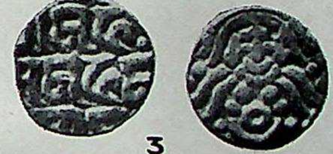

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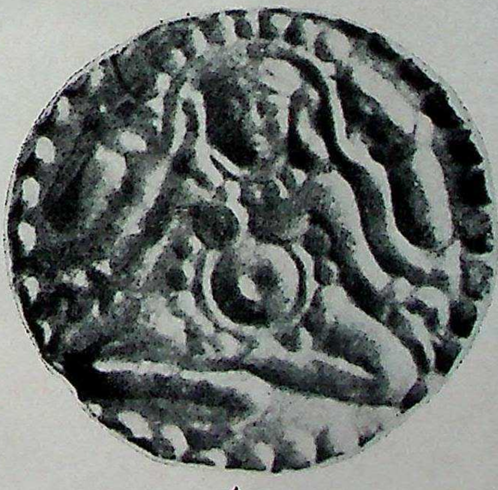

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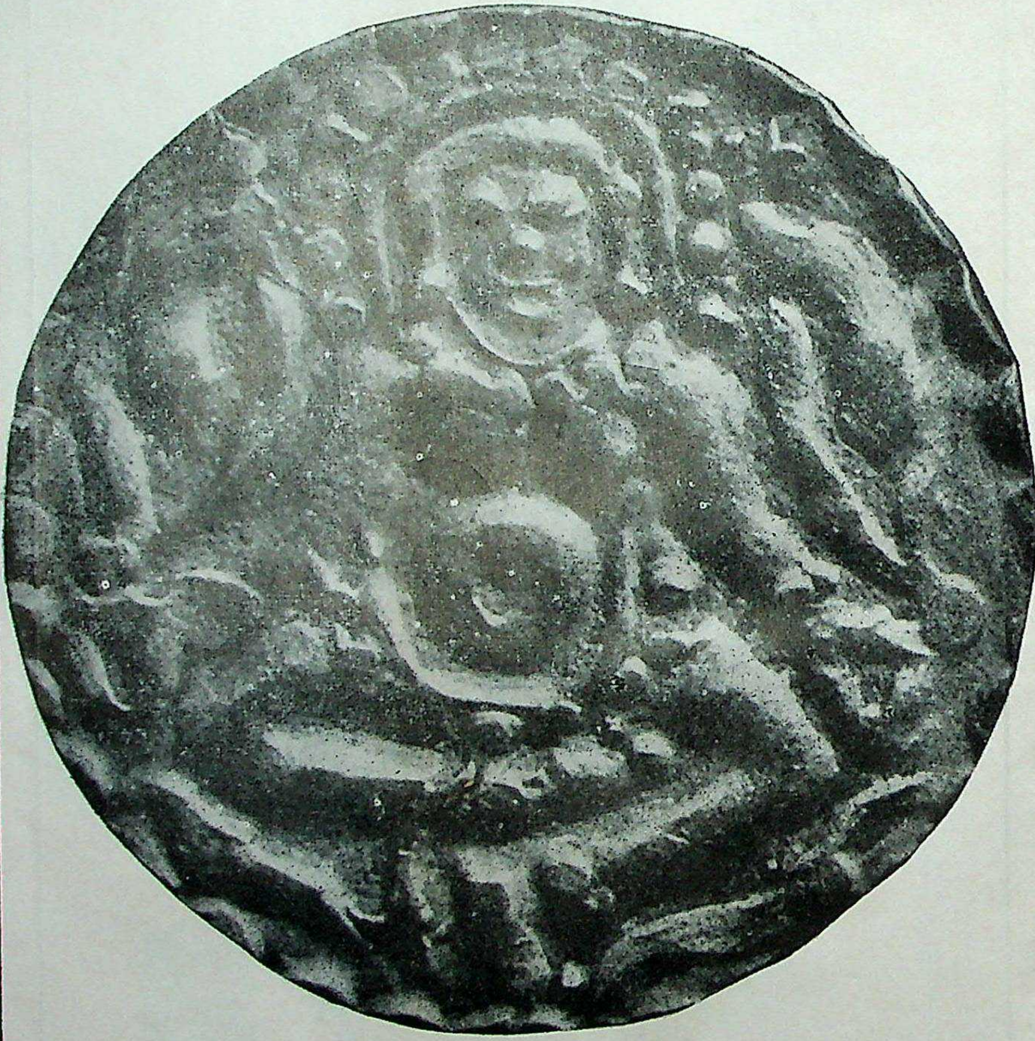
PL XLVII



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PL XLVIII

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